It Seems to Heywood Broun

The Nation

Vol. CXXX, No. 3384 Founded 1865 Wednesday, May 14, 1930

How Safe Is the Subway?

by Louis Resnick

Pennsylvania's Battle Royal

by Richard J. Beamish

Whitewash for Pope

a review by Joseph Wood Krutch

Misgovernment by Injunction

a review by William Seagle

Fifteen Cents a Copy Five Dollars a Year

Published weekly at 20 Vesey St., New York. Entered as second-class matter December 13, 1887, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1930, by The Nation, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INDEX

of American Life Today

THERE is one stream that never dries up—the stream of reader correspondence that pours into *The Nation* office. An examination of a few consecutive issues of the magazine indicates very clearly the prompting behind these thousands of stirring, encouraging, informative letters. Glance at this partial record of *The Nation's* last six weeks:

Two series by Mr. Villard, one on political subjects, the other on The Press. Characteristic editorials by Mr. Villard and Mr. Mussey. Paul Y. Anderson's slashing letters from Washington. Heywood Broun's weekly slams at the Great God Bosh. Joseph Wood Krutch on the theatre and other subjects. Henry Hazlitt's adventures in the lists of literary criticism. The record of Helena Hill Weed's splendid work as *The Nation's* representative in Haiti. Two important articles by Louis Fischer, *The Nation's* correspondent in Moscow. C. F. Andrews and H. A. Miller on Gandhi. Harry McGuire on Colorado's disbarment of Judge Lindsey. Two important financial articles by J. G. Curtis. Ruby Black on the Indian skeleton that dangles in purseproud America's closet. Other timely articles on the war between the independent and the chain stores in the South, prohibition, divorce, the London Conference—why go on?

In brief, *The Nation* draws from the core of American life, and each week brings to public notice with careful emphasis those developments which disclose the direction of the ruling undercurrents in our political, social, and economic affairs.

To obtain a whole year of* The Nation *(52 issues)
SEND ONLY ONE DOLLAR NOW—the balance in four monthly payments of $1 each.

THE NATION 20 VESEY STREET NEW YORK

I enclose $1 toward a one-year subscription, which you are to enter at once. I will remit the balance at the rate of $1 a month for the next four months.

Name .....*City* .....

Street .....*State* .....

5-14-30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXX NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1930 No. 3384

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 557
EDITORIALS:
Ballyhoover 560
Let India Go! 561
The Five-Year Plan 561
Antique or Golden Oak 562
IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN 563
PENNSYLVANIA'S BATTLE ROYAL. By Richard J. Beamish 564
SAFETY LAST: I. HOW SAFE IS THE SUBWAY? By Louis Resnick 566
DETROIT'S CRIME CLINIC. By J. A. Fellows 568
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 570
CORRESPONDENCE 570
CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE 571
BOOKS, FILMS, DRAMA:
De Libris. By Robert Liddell Lowe 572
Fake Culture for Real. By Henry Hazlitt 572
Souls in Business. By Clinton Simpson 573
Whitewash for Pope. By Joseph Wood Krutch 573
Misgovernment by Injunction. By William Seagle 574
Beethoven as Fiction Hero. By Ray C. B. Brown 575
The Inward Vision. By Oswald Garrison Villard 576
Books in Brief 576
Films: Eisenstein's Latest. By Alexander Bakshy 577
Drama: Miss Le Gallienne's Juliet. By Joseph Wood Krutch 578
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Health Insurance in Austria. By Dr. Ernst Kulka 582

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor
HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY, Managing Editor
Associate Editors
FREDA KIRCHWEY
DOROTHY VAN DOREN ARTHUR WARNER
Dramatic Editor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Literary Editor
HENRY HAZLITT
Contributing Editors
JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN
NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN
MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN
DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City, Cable Address: Nation, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

A MORE BITTER FIGHT than that which has arisen over the nomination of Judge Parker to the Supreme Court has rarely been seen in the Senate. It reached its climax, perhaps, with the specific charge, by Senator Ashurst, that "judgeships, federal, are being offered, I will not say to Senators, but to a Senator, if he will vote for confirmation." "I stand on that statement," declared the Arizona Senator, "and challenge you to call the lobby committee on that statement." At the same session Senator McKellar charged that his office had been rifled, and suggested that Secret Service agents might be responsible. Two other Senators also declared that their offices had been entered. When things reach such a pitch as this President Hoover may well begin to wonder whether the nomination was after all the "master political stroke" that it was expected to be. Certainly the debate has failed to reveal one good reason for Judge Parker's appointment. His nomination by the President stands revealed to the country in all its nakedness as a bare political move. The Supreme Court is deserving of more respect.

NO FEWER THAN 1,028 MEMBERS of the American Economic Association, comprising the leading teachers of economics in the colleges and universities and economic experts the country over, persons who have no direct interest whatsoever in the tariff schedules, have signed a petition to President Hoover demanding that he veto the pending tariff bill. The statements they make are unanswerable: (1) that the bill would increase prices to domestic consumers; (2) that only a few wage-earners can hope to profit by the tariff bill; (3) that our export trade in general would suffer; (4) that American manufacturers as a whole do not need higher tariffs; (5) that our farmers will in no wise benefit by the legislation; (6) that the higher tariffs will not decrease unemployment; (7) that the new bill will tremendously increase foreign hostility to us; and (8) that "a tariff war does not furnish good soil for the growth of world peace." The signers might well have added that President Hoover cannot sign this bill without stultifying himself, since it does not do those things which he asked of Congress when he called the special session and does those things, notably a general revision of the tariff, which he specifically stated that he did not want. President Hoover may spend another seven years in the White House, but he will never have a more direct and searching test than will be afforded by this tariff bill when it is presented to him. How will his moral fiber react to it?

SPEED RECORDS for tariff-making appear to have been broken by the Canadian Government which on May 1, without taking the trouble to broadcast to the world that far-reaching tariff changes were in process, announced that the new duties would go into effect at nine o'clock the following morning. All this, be it noted, before the budget bill, in which the tariff changes are incorporated, had ever been acted upon by the Dominion Parliament. Pending the adoption of the budget, all customs duties will be collected subject to changes necessitated by the new rates. The new tariff, described in a Canadian press dispatch as "the most drastic and far-reaching customs revision of this century," will affect, it is estimated, some $300,000,000 of imports from the United States, while changes in the British preference duties will touch about $200,000,000 of imports from the mother country. Whether the new duties are expected to have any effect in mitigating the excesses and irrationalities of the Smoot-Hawley gouge is not, of course, divulged, but if Mr. Mackenzie King and his associates had been content to twirl their thumbs while the American Congress boosted the levies upon one of America's best customers, the outlook for a Liberal victory in the election that will almost certainly be held within a year would have been appreciably dimmed.

THE FARM DEBENTURE menace is not yet out of the way, although the House of Representatives has taken the commendable step of striking out, by a substantial majority of 231 to 161, the debenture provision from the tariff bill which it is considering. Whether the vote actually represents the majority opinion of the House is not certain, because the rejection was achieved under threat of a veto. Mr. Hoover, to be sure, in his letter to Mr. Tilson, the Republican leader, did not say that he would veto the bill if

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it retained the debenture feature; all he said was that he was still opposed to the debenture plan; but Mr. Tilson declared that he could not imagine that anything else than a veto was foreshadowed, the majority of the House accepted his interpretation, and the debenture monstrosity went overboard. It may still be saved, however, by the Senate, which put it into the bill and which has yet to act upon the House compromise. There is a fly in the ointment, too, because the same House yielded further to Mr. Hoover and retained the flexible-tariff provision which the Senate had stricken out. The warning of Representative Summers of Texas that "every single attempt in the history of government to delegate revenue powers to the executive has proved disastrous," that "it is as certain as human nature that a President will sooner or later violate such authority," and that "it is only a question of which one it will be," apparently went unheeded by the House. As Mr. Hoover wants the power which the flexible-tariff provision would give him, the Senate, which does not want it but adores debentures, will have a fine chance to play some more politics with the bill.

NAVAL LIMITATION, Italian style, has just been given an illustration which ought to disturb even Mr. Hoover's complacency. On April 27, five days after the signing of the London treaty, there were launched from Italian shipyards more than 30,000 tons of fighting craft—two 10,000-ton cruisers, two 5,000-ton cruisers, and one 800-ton submarine. These vessels, it was explained, were all begun one or two years ago and took the water now with no reference, of course, to anything talked about at London. Three days later the Cabinet approved plans for a further 42,900 tons—one 10,000-ton cruiser, two flotilla leaders of 5,000 tons each, four 1,240-ton destroyers, and twenty-two submarines, of which four displace 1,390 tons each, six 810 tons, and twelve 610 tons; altogether twenty-nine vessels. This is Italy's reply to what the *Lavoro Fascista,* referring to the London conference, calls "the intention of some to relegate us to the lowest rank of the world Powers." The new construction, the same paper remarks, "constitutes the best proof that, far from wishing to engage in a race for armaments, Italy will maintain and have recognized her incontrovertible right as a great sea Power." France, naturally, is a good deal perturbed, and some unholy critics of the London treaty have begun to ask how long it will be before Great Britain, with its long tradition of a two-Power standard, will feel compelled to invoke the safeguarding clause which allows any signatory to increase its fleet if it deems its own security threatened. At any rate, the outlook for an agreement about Franco-Italian parity seems somewhat dim.

PROSPERITY TOMORROW, still says President Hoover. We hope so. As for yesterday and today, that's a different matter, unhappily. Railroad gross earnings in February were 10.1 per cent less than in February, 1929, while March earnings were 12.5 per cent less than those of last year. Net earnings were off 29.8 per cent in February and 37.3 per cent in March. The Bureau of Business Conditions of the Alexander Hamilton Institute in its current summary points out that car loadings for the week ending April 19 totaled 893,000, against 1,004,000 a year ago, a decline of 11.6 per cent, "the most unfavorable comparison which has occurred in 1930." Orders for new freight cars in April totaled 1,843, against 6,983 a year ago. The steel industry during the past week has reduced its production from 80 to 78 per cent of capacity, against 97 per cent last year, and there is talk of further price-cutting. In the construction industry the F. W. Dodge Corporation reports contracts awarded during the first three weeks of April as 26.7 per cent below the figures of 1929. April figures this year were 3.4 per cent above March; last year they were 32.5 per cent higher than in March. Governor Roosevelt in a telegram to Secretary Lamont states that preliminary tabulations of factory employment in New York indicate a further decrease in April as compared with March and declares that the index of such employment, steadily declining since October last, now stands at the lowest point in its sixteen years' history. It will take a good deal of lung power to talk away figures like these.

CITIZENSHIP in the United States is becoming more difficult of access every day. Miss Averil Bland, a Canadian war nurse who saw service at Brest during the World War, has been reported unfavorably for citizenship because, although she declares herself willing to go to the front and nurse the wounded in the event of war, she will not take an oath to bear arms in defense of her new country. Miss Bland put her refusal on the ground of religion and claimed that the United States guaranteed freedom of religious belief to its citizens. Whereupon the presiding judge uttered the surprising doctrine that there was a difference between the rights of citizens and the "privileges accorded persons desirous of becoming citizens." It is high time that this matter was thoroughly threshed out in the courts and in Congress. In this connection every support should be given to the resolution introduced by Representative Griffin of New York, proposing that "no person mentally, morally, and otherwise qualified shall be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes." No one with such a belief who has yet applied for citizenship has declared himself unwilling to suffer the legal consequences during war time of refusing to bear arms. We cannot much longer continue the spectacle of refusing citizenship to persons in every way qualified except that they will not promise to kill a possible future enemy.

MAY DAY PASSED OFF, on the whole, quietly. In New York this was due in part to Mr. Whalen's commendable order to the police to leave their night-sticks at home and to his successful attempt to separate the meetings in Union Square held until 2 p.m. by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and after 3 p.m. by the Communists. It was due also to the considered second judgment of both groups that it would be better to avoid a row. Charges have been made by the American Civil Liberties Union that police kept spectators from attending the Communist meeting, but in spite of this upwards of 30,000 came while the Veterans welcomed no more than 10,000. New York City employees, for some unknown reason, were given the day off with pay. This enabled them to march in the Veterans' parade, run around the block, and come back in time to hear the Communist speeches. In other cities, on the whole, police officers maintained an air of amused tolerance and insisted on being

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

protective, which, however irritating to the members of the Workers' Party, is far better than a series of broken heads. In all about 300 workers were arrested over the country for offenses committed on or in the week preceding May 1. Considering the previous temper of the police and the degree of general unemployment, this seems very modest. Commissioner Whalen's "secret Russian documents" turned out to be a good deal of a dud. Indications that they are the same old forgeries, or others like them, that have been making the rounds for years are widespread. Unfortunately these "documents" do make some impression on the more innocent of our hard-boiled business men, and on certain Congressmen like Hamilton Fish, but this is one of the chances that Soviet Russia must take in trading with America.

THE DIFFICULTIES of utility regulation are well illustrated in the ten-year struggle over utility rates in the State of New York. In November, 1929, a federal court allowed the New York Telephone Company a 7 per cent return on the value of its intrastate property. The company filed a new and advanced rate schedule effective February 1, 1930. The Public Service Commission, after slicing off 20 per cent of the increase, made the rates temporarily effective. On April 18, with the proceedings for permanent rates still pending, the company suddenly put forward a brand-new schedule, calculated to bring in $8,000,000 more than the present rates, on the theory that the business depression requires such an advance in order to insure a 7 per cent return. In a unanimous decision handed down on May 1 the commission rejected this increase and actually readjusted rates to yield, it figures, $900,000 less than the present return, but still $10,000,000 more than last year's rates. It cut from the valuation claimed by the company the entire amount of $35,000,000 in its depreciation reserve, but rejected the claim of counsel for the City of New York that the annual allowance for depreciation should be limited to actual property requirements for the year in question. The company announces that it will comply with the order of the commission, but under protest. The commission appears to be satisfied with its own success in regulating telephone rates. The subscriber may not wholly share that satisfaction.

GREAT BRITAIN may outrank France as a colonial empire, but it is just possible that the British might learn a thing or two from a study of French policy in North Africa. President Doumergue has been making an official visit to Algeria on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the acquisition of Algeria as a French possession. The ceremonies have been imposing, beginning with a review of more than eighty vessels of the French fleet and four squadrons of airplanes, and including a show by contingents from various tribes that contribute to the make-up of the colonial army. The interesting thing about the celebration, however, is the evidence which it has afforded of Algerian loyalty. The New York *Times*, which editorially cannot be accused of lack of friendliness toward Great Britain, pertinently remarks that with the exception of some small disturbances in Indo-China the entire colonial empire of France is at peace. Algeria, in some respects the most important of the French possessions, is organized on a departmental as well as a colonial basis, with three senators and nine deputies in Parliament, while in the framing of the budget, which is separate from that of France, the governor-general is assisted by delegations representing the Mussulman natives as well as the French, and by a superior council composed in part of elected members. In comparison with Great Britain, which faces today a seething discontent in South Africa, Egypt, and Iraq, as well as in India, France may well feel content with the result of its administrative efforts.

BANNING A TEXTBOOK because some parent doesn't like it is pretty poor business for any school authorities anywhere, but exactly that has lately happened in New York. "Modern History," written by Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes and Professor Parker T. Moon, both of Columbia University, and listed for some seven years among the history textbooks which teachers in the New York City schools might use, has been stricken from the list by Acting Superintendent Harold G. Campbell on the ground, as alleged by the Reverend Lefferd M. A. Haughwout, an Episcopal rector, that it is pro-Catholic, radical, and anti-patriotic. Professors Hayes and Moon are Roman Catholics, but their book, as far as appears from the passages cited as objectionable, embodies the views now commonly held by historical scholars about such subjects as the Reformation and democracy. Needless to say, the views are not altogether acceptable to thick-and-thin Protestants and embattled hundred-percenters. It seems pretty late in the day, however, to challenge the book on those grounds, and entirely arbitrary to strike it from the list by the fiat of a single official. If at any points the book is erroneous or injudicious its mistakes should be corrected, but we hope that neither authors nor publishers will allow themselves to be coerced into "revising" the book to still patriotic or religious clamor. The country had a dose of such "revision" during the World War, and it does not need another.

THERE IS ONE SOUTHERN MAYOR who believes that he is the mayor of all the people in his town and not of one race alone. This phenomenon is twenty-seven years old; he is mayor of a town in Oklahoma. When he ran for office he promised a square deal to everybody, even to Negroes, and marvelous to say he was elected. The other day when William Pickens, a field agent for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reached his city to make an address the mayor actually met him at the station and took part in the meeting. He even went so far as to address his Negro audience as "ladies and gentlemen." He declared, in the presence of some white friends and relatives, that he belonged to the new order in the South and that he regarded colored folk as a part of the people of the community having the same rights as all others. As Mr. Pickens tells the story in the *Crisis*, the mayor publicly joined the association and subscribed for the *Crisis*. More than that, he told the audience that when an excited elderly white lady had stormed into his office exclaiming "What are you going to do about it? What *are* you going to do about it—the niggers—the niggers are taking our section of the town?" he quietly remarked: "Madam, I am not going to do anything about it. There is law in the land, and they are not violating it. They've a right to do what they are doing." This is, fortunately, one of the many signs that the new generation of whites in the South is not going to be bound by the cant and the prejudices of its seniors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ballyhoover

THE Hoover Administration is bankrupt—intellectually, morally, and politically. Lacking sturdy moral principles and a considered plan of action, it has failed to offer to Congress and the country a sorely needed leadership; and today, at the end of only fourteen months, it finds itself discredited in the eyes of all classes of people. The business men who put up the money to elect Mr. Hoover on the theory that they were getting a great business executive with "an engineering mind" are becoming disgusted with his inability to deliver the goods, though publicly they may place the blame elsewhere. The faithful party workers who run campaigns and win elections are disturbed and confused by his lack of political sense. The plain men who voted for him in the comfortable assurance of a continuance of Coolidge prosperity now listen resentfully to the blare of the loud speaker predicting good times just around the corner, while they study the red figures in their little profit-and-loss accounts or tramp the streets looking for a job. The farmers, granted the ineffable boon of the Farm Board, are trading in their dollar wheat for the stone of the Grundy tariff. The prohibitionists, who were going to see the prohibition law effectively enforced, see what they see. The peace-lovers and the taxpayers of the country, who looked forward to a Quaker President reducing needless military burdens, see the fiasco of London and the big-navy advocates planning to take advantage of it and build *up* to parity with Great Britain. There does seem to be a reasonable prospect of our getting out of Haiti if Mr. Hoover does not weaken; but if there is another substantial achievement to put to the credit of his Administration it is hard to think what it is.

What is the explanation of this political bankruptcy? To our mind it is a double one. Partly the situation is due to the defects of Mr. Hoover's own mind and character. Partly it indicates the hollowness of the political system that he represents.

During the whole of Mr. Hoover's public life he has shown an incorrigible tendency to substitute words for action, to become a hero by publicity, not by deeds. The disappointed millions who today still worship their image of the Hoover of the far-off days of Belgian relief might well remember the blistering words with which Mr. Leffingwell greeted Mr. Hoover's appointment as food controller on our entrance into the war. Never, perhaps, has any other person had a personal publicity machine as powerful and effective as the one that made Herbert Hoover President of the United States. Lauded as a great engineer with a broad knowledge of economic facts and a deep understanding of economic principles, he has displayed consistently a contempt for facts and an ignorance or indifference in respect to principles that would have disgraced a sophomore.

When Mr. Hoover entered the White House we were bound head on for a business smash due to insane stock speculation. The facts were notorious; even at that time it was not too late to avoid the worst effects of the speculative mania; the machinery of control was at hand in the Federal Reserve System; informed and conservative men in the banking world itself had been urging its use. No more imperative duty could have confronted an intelligent and economically minded President than to help put backbone into a weak Federal Reserve Board. For eight wild months the President did nothing, and then the catastrophe came. We do not say that President Hoover could have prevented that disaster. We do say that he did not lift a finger to prevent it, though he had, by virtue of his position and reputation, a unique opportunity and responsibility.

We are now in the seventh disastrous month of business depression consequent on that smash. What has been the contribution of the Administration during that period? First, a series of spectacular and enormously advertised conferences with business leaders out of which was to come an impossible stimulation of construction that would have been economically unsound if it could have been brought about. Second, a deliberate suppression of the facts of depression and unemployment, and a deliberate attempt to persuade the country that things were going well. Give the President full credit for believing that that is the way to make them go well, his theory and his action are still those of the publicity man, not of the economist and statesman; they bring scant comfort to the embarrassed business man or the desperate worker out of a job. On May 1 the President announced: "While the crash only took place six months ago, I am convinced we have passed the worst and with continued unity of effort we shall rapidly recover." Two days later the stock market crashed again. And for the future? A commission, sometime, to study the economic forces behind booms and depressions; but it will not be appointed "until the present slight disorder has completely subsided and a proper perspective is afforded." What bosh!

The same weakness, disregard of facts, neglect of sound principles, and lack of leadership, combined with the same blatant and hollow publicity that have marked the President's handling of the business situation, have characterized also his treatment of disarmament, farm relief, the tariff, taxation, prohibition, and all the other issues he has touched. But then to crown the story he appoints as chairman of the national committee of his party his personal friend, a power lobbyist who speculates with lobby funds, and when it is all made public the President, for some mysterious reason, does not dare to kick him out.

It is not pleasant thus to criticize the Chief Executive, but it is necessary; for President Hoover is only the perfect example of a bad system of government that the American people ought no longer to tolerate. It is a system of government by publicity and bluff, not by reasoned policies grounded in an honest study of facts. It is a system of expedients and compromises based on no moral, political, or economic principles. It creates no genuine political issues; it carries on no real process of public education. Both old parties alike are a part of that system, and both alike are bankrupt. We need today a new political group, respectful of facts, brought together on real issues, holding real principles, ready to go out and fight for them and to suffer defeat for them if necessary. It is our only alternative to government by ballyhoo.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let India Go!

GANDHI has been arrested under an ordinance of 1827 under which he will be held without trial. The results of this action cannot be recorded as we go to press, but the situation will certainly not grow less acute. Censorship on press messages to and from India was put into effect shortly after the Mahatma's arrest.

According to one of the followers of Gandhi writing in an Indian journal, passive resistance, or *satyagraha* (literally, insistence on truth), will "succeed" in one of three ways. Gandhi and his associates may die in the attempt to stand by truth, but their deaths would be instrumental in the spread of the truth for which they died; forces of violence may be released which will sweep the British out of India; or the Mahatma will "convert" Great Britain, presumably to the point of giving India her independence. Another result which seems all too likely in view of Gandhi's arrest is that forces of Nationalist and other violence will be released; these in turn will be met with British violence; thousands of Indians will be killed and a few Britishers; India will be subdued.

But will it? The urge to govern one's self or at least to cease to be governed by someone else grows from a stubborn and deep seed. That urge cannot be killed, though it may be retarded, either by suppression and bloodshed or by kindness and sweet reasonableness. The Englishman, almost any Englishman, says: "If we withdraw from India there will be chaos. The peasants will suffer most." The Englishman also says: "The Nationalist forces in India are negligible. The masses do not care about self-government. Besides, there is no unity in India." And behind all these words is the economic fact—of which the Englishman may or may not be conscious as he speaks in favor of holding on to India—that England needs India; and the further fact that at several vital economic points what is good for India is not good for England.

There seems little doubt that if England should withdraw from India there would be chaos. But the Nationalist says, "We would rather have chaos under our own rule than have order imposed by someone else." And the Nationalist cannot be ignored. The argument that Nationalists are only a handful means nothing. There have never been more than a handful of revolutionaries in any revolution yet recorded. As for the masses, the "dumb millions" as Gandhi calls them, of what real relevance is their attitude if they have any? If it were relevant, who could claim their allegiance with more confidence, Lord Irwin or Mahatma Gandhi? Finally, with regard to the economic or real reason for withholding self-government, whether it be called dominion status or independence—and Gandhi has made it clear that the terms are interchangeable in his mind—England cannot forever weigh the scales in her favor with the artificial weights of regiments and cruisers.

The idea of national liberty is abroad in India for better or for worse. Censorship of newspapers will not affect it. Neither will the arrest of Gandhi. If England is wise and farseeing the Simon Commission, whose report is momentarily expected, will find that India is ready for dominion status.

The Five-Year Plan

THE daily press reports that the opening, three months ahead of time, of the new 1,700-mile Russian railroad, the "Turksib" road from Turkestan to Siberia, has led to increased confidence in the success of Moscow's proposal to compress the Five-Year Plan into four years. To us this proposal seems a great mistake. Even five years is too short a period in which to achieve as much as is planned without the heavy toll exacted by the inevitable waste of such extraordinary speed. That colossal blunders are being made at a great cost the Communists themselves do not deny; they declare, however, that speed is absolutely essential and the extra price thereof a secondary consideration.

This is not a complete answer. The very immensity of the plan creates a tremendous burden for inexperienced executives called upon suddenly to coordinate the elements essential to success. Those familiar with large industrial undertakings know that the real strain does not come during the period when plans are being made. This is largely the stage in which the Soviets find themselves today. Thus, the government recently signed a contract with Albert Kahn, Inc., of Detroit, to supervise the construction of plants upon which, if we may trust the all but unbelievable report of the New York *Times*, $1,900,000,000 are to be spent in 1930 alone. It remains, of course, to be seen how rapidly the 552 plants and factories to be started in this year under Kahn's supervision will actually progress. It seems impossible that the manufacturing facilities of the Soviets will be able to meet all the tremendous demand for steel, cement, lumber, power, and the hundreds of various kinds of material required for the Kahn program alone. Today we hear that, with relatively little of this work under way, the Soviets are not able to supply the necessary building materials on schedule time. If this should necessitate a sudden turning to foreign countries for additional materials, that would in itself disarrange the Five-Year Plan, its budget not being prepared for any such contingency.

That certain industries, such as tractor and automobile plants, can be expanded rapidly is perfectly true. The great basic industries, however, such as coal and ore mining, respond but slowly to new development. It usually takes from three to five years to develop mines to the point where they can achieve production. It is obvious that the new shafts ought to be driven with great speed, but it is a fact that production of iron ores and the non-ferrous metals is far behind schedule. There is a difference of opinion as to how much new construction has actually taken place in the steel industry, about which after all the whole industrial plan revolves. Statistics showing increased production in this and all other lines are impressive, but they start from a base seventeen years old. Similarly impressive figures could be shown in comparable lines in most countries. In Russia, so far, increased production has come essentially from more efficient use of hitherto existing equipment and man power. Future increases must come from new construction.

If it is, however, assumed that all the projected construction can be accomplished with enormous effort within the time-limit set, the fact remains that when plants and equipment are ready they cannot be operated unless there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are enough trained executives and skilled workmen on hand. Can the Soviets obtain sufficient engineers and executives to run efficiently all their industrial plants as they are today, to say nothing about the 552 plants of the Kahn program alone? Yet it is on the operation of the plants that the Soviets will stand or fall. The Russian people will not complain if the Five-Year Plan is not finished on time provided they are getting some proof that mass production of the necessities they so sorely need is under way. The outer world will have no reason to sneer, for even if the Five-Year Plan should be lengthened to ten the achievement would still be nothing short of miraculous. Unfortunately, workmen cannot be trained over night to make accurate machine tools and to work with the precision that modern industry demands. The Russians will therefore have to rely more and more upon foreign engineering aid. But here the critical situation in foreign exchange has caused the Soviets to reduce the pay offered to foreigners for engineering services to 60 per cent of the former figures. This will compel American firms seeking to maintain their normal profit ratio to substitute cheaper engineers, or else reputable firms will find the lure of a high profit ratio in Russia disappearing and will turn their attention elsewhere.

As a final example of the dangers of the Five-Year Plan, when lately a huge electric project was started where it was impossible to market more than 30 per cent of its output, there was a tremendous strain on the finances of the government, which found itself compelled to create plants in cities to absorb the surplus power. All of these considerations will count heavily in the decision, not only as to whether or not Russia can instal mass production, but also whether or not it can deliver goods in mass of sufficient cheapness to bring the cost of living within the reach of Russian working men and women. If this can actually be achieved with such speed it will constitute a miracle.

Antique or Golden Oak

THE April number of the *Theatre Guild Magazine* contains an interesting article entitled Siam Prefers the Movies. It seems that on the occasion of a recent royal celebration the author, L. L. Robbins, had an opportunity of witnessing the traditional dramatic entertainments of the country, but he reports that the spectators were neither very numerous nor very enthusiastic. The ballet, the acrobatic pantomime, and the shadow picture were regarded for a few minutes with languid interest and then the crowd drifted away toward the cinema where Tom Mix was being lustily cheered as he galloped across the screen in the general direction of distressed virtue.

Siam is westernized. The royal garage is now far more important than the stables where the royal elephants are kept and westernization means more than improved sanitation and new means of transportation, for it does something to the psychology of the population. Formerly the people had delighted in the traditional representation of the familiar tale; now, like the westerner, they demand the surprise inherent in the new story and they find it in the products of Hollywood. In Bangkok today there is not, says Mr. Robbins, a single theater where the native drama is regularly performed, but there are half a dozen large picture houses.

What is happening there is, of course, happening in every out-of-the-way corner of the earth. Whenever primitive people are supplied with the products of the machine civilization they accept them with uncritical enthusiasm, and they value our vulgarities quite as highly as the benefits of our labor-saving devices. It is said, for instance, that the Japanese peasants now throw away the color prints so much sought after by collectors and replace them with gaudy lithographs supplied by the Singer Sewing Machine Company. But we do not, of course, need to go so far afield for illustrations of the same sort. Many a Park Avenue apartment is now furnished with the early American furniture which was thrown out of New England farmhouses to make way for the golden oak of Grand Rapids. The student of balladry who goes to the North Carolina mountains in search of the art which was kept alive from the seventeenth century down to the time when the railroad came will find in the cabin a phonograph blaring forth the ditties of tin-pan alley, while only the octogenarian dozing in the corner can be persuaded to recall a few fragments of the all-but-forgotten songs of his youth.

This process of vulgarization involves certain problems of psychology and of aesthetics which have never been satisfactorily solved. It is all very well to say cynically that it is in the nature of man to choose the worst and that, for example, a dignified table of maple was never accepted except *faute de mieux,* in the absence of golden oak. But the explanation will not hold water. It is far too obvious that the makers of even primitive furniture were artists with an instinctive sense of style and that the beauty of their work is not—at least entirely—either something imposed upon them by the limitations of their material or something merely imagined by us because we find the work "quaint." Yet it is not easy to reconcile the gift of the primitive cabinetmaker or the primitive minstrel with his willingness to accept, in the course of one generation at most, the wretched substitutes which he so readily comes to admire. Doubtless it is easier, and perhaps it is cheaper, to send to Grand Rapids; but there is no doubt that he actually prefers the uglier thing. And thus it seems impossible to explain away either the reality of his native capacities or the ease with which they are corrupted.

Various explanations have been offered. In the case of the Japanese and his pictures, it has, for example, been suggested that the lithograph does possess certain artistic virtues—a highly developed perspective, for instance—which the color prints do not and that these virtues, now banal to us, strike fresh on the eye of the peasant. Moreover, this type of explanation has been extended. There are, it is said, merits in jazz and movies and golden oak so familiar that we do not see them, but very real to the remote people who get them for the first time. But though there is doubtless something in the explanation it is hardly sufficient. The mystery remains and we must rest content with the conclusion that taste, though it may be a relatively feeble thing, is rarer than creative genius. It is lost on the first contact with the flashiness and variety of complicated civilizations, and it is only through long cultivation that the sophisticated man gets back as much of it as the simple man had before he was bewildered by the strangeness of the products dumped upon him from the factories.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Seems to Heywood Broun

THE next time that Mr. Hoover has an impulse to talk about national prosperity and the financial state of the country I trust that he will count ten before saying a word and then appoint a commission. Every time the President makes an optimistic speech the stock market breaks wildly. And that is no accident but a definite and tangible criticism of one of Herbert Hoover's cardinal faults. Wall Street has its own peculiar defects but in the main the stock manipulators are realistic men. The general public is romantic and can be moved to enthusiasm even in harsh times. But the bigger plungers have no illusions. They are not much moved by rosy dreams. Earnings statements are more important to them than epigrams of good cheer. And it seems to be their concerted decision that President Hoover is not a frank person.

Indeed, according to their interpretation his words are useful only when construed in direct reverse. When words of cheer come out of Washington they know that the Chief Executive is worried. His statement that the crisis is over means to them that stormy days are still ahead. It is not necessary, of course, that any President should mold his conduct in such a way as to please the gambling fraternity of the stock market, but it is hardly praiseworthy for the nation's leader to cloak himself in the folds of indirection. Nobody can say that President Hoover has faced the present economic situation with complete clarity and courage.

To be sure, he did not start from scratch. Like all his Republican predecessors he was elected to a large extent upon the potency of a lie. The voter, who sometimes seems a little less than bright, has swallowed the familiar fallacy that there is some peculiar magic in protection which makes for prosperity. So strong and widespread is this belief that a number of Democrats have been all but persuaded. Even Al Smith was a partial convert and tried to take the tariff out of politics by insisting that he had no desire to do more than maybe snip an inch or so away in certain of the most mountainous places. His decision to stoop a little in the house of Rimmon was among his most fatal flaws in tactics. He lost his home State of New York because even friendly followers felt that a Republican Administration would be better for business.

So faithful are the people of America to tradition that even now they cannot be convinced that there is something fundamentally wrong in the notion of prospering at the expense of the other fellow. Three-card-monte men continue to flourish at fairs in rural communities because they trick the farmers into believing that the player can put something over on the entrepreneur. It is a common custom for some accomplice of the professional gambler to turn the corner of a card when the principal is not looking. The eager farmer then rushes in to bet and finds that he has been deceived. But he never seems to get wise to the catch in the Republican high tariff. Even though he pays prodigious royalties on all he buys he still sits back content in the belief that he is being protected against the pauper labor of Europe. The strength of the whole protectionist cause lies in this assumption that we are putting something over on somebody. According to the theory we are to sell high to Europe and buy cheap. Never a tick of sympathy is aroused for this same so-called pauper labor in foreign lands. The poor peasant is to work for us.

The Republican Party is still acting as if we lived in the days of clipper ships and supported ourselves by the process of taking in each other's rum and homespun. Those same Republicans who argue against entangling alliances have the belief that isolationism may also be practiced in our business life. Or at least a one-sided isolation. We are to sell our surplus for a good round sum to the rest of the world and take in return no goods of any consequence. Possibly it is unfair to Mr. Hoover to make even a passing reference to rum. In all his public utterances he has been stalwart enough in preaching the creed of abstinence and strict enforcement. He does not seem conscious of the reproach inherent in his recent demand for more federal prisons and bigger ones. Apparently his conscience troubles him not at all over the fact that he is lord of the largest convict population ever known in these United States. The idea that it might be better to have fewer crimes and fewer criminals has not entered his head.

As an ardent Al Smith man, I may be unduly partisan in my feeling toward President Hoover. It would be foolish to deny him credit for certain considerable achievements. He performed excellent work in regard to the distressed conditions in Haiti. His efforts toward limitation of armaments, although indecisive, have been valuable and his espousal of the World Court has been far warmer than that of his predecessors. Nor would I deny for a moment that Herbert Clark Hoover is a man of far greater intellectual grasp than, let us say, Calvin Coolidge. There is no point in drawing the memory of poor Warren Harding into the discussion.

But Coolidge never made any claims for himself as a great liberal leader. And none were made for him. Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, was distinctly identified by himself and others as the white hope of a new social order. The *World,* at a time when its liberalism seemed more rampant than at the moment, seriously urged his candidacy upon either Democrats or Republicans. The Scripps-Howard papers, which supported La Follette for President and Norman Thomas for Mayor of New York, swallowed Mr. Hoover almost whole in the 1928 campaign. To the credit of this liberal chain of journals it is only fair to say that their serious digestive disturbances since the election have not been kept a secret from their readers.

And by what possible test can Herbert Hoover be considered a liberal now? Surely few Republican Presidents have used the power of nominating the members of the Supreme Court for political purposes in any way more brazen than President Hoover. Even a Tammany leader might have hesitated before sending in the name of John J. Parker. Nobody expects a man elected by Republican votes to act as a pure Marxian Socialist upon assuming office, but the time has come for every liberal who supported Hoover in the last campaign to rise to his feet and disown him.

HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pennsylvania's Battle Royal

By RICHARD J. BEAMISH

THE protective tariff is a vital issue in the amazing Republican primary campaign in Pennsylvania. Let not those who hope for lower tariffs with increasing regard for international relations hurrah prematurely upon reading that statement. The battle is not for decreased schedules. The issue is Smoot-Hawley high tariff versus Grundy higher tariff.

James John Davis came from Washington into the sacred precincts of the Union League of Philadelphia for a luncheon rally on April 24 bearing this message:

> The tariff about to be enacted is absolutely satisfactory. A few schedules might have been raised a little but upon the whole the job is mighty fine. Prosperity will come immediately after its signing by the President. Unemployment will disappear from the land. It is the ideal Republican tariff. I sat in with the Joint Conference Committee of Congress during its final stages pinch-hitting for Senator Reed, who is in London, and aided in shaping the pig-iron and cement adjustments. I favor a tariff upon the products of all foreign industries competing with American industries.

Former Mayor J. Hampton Moore of Philadelphia, Justice John W. Kephart of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, Samuel M. Vauclain, chairman of the board of directors of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, and fifty other assorted capitalists applauded the last declaration rapturously.

Joseph R. Grundy read the Davis declaration half an hour later. He reasoned, as did everybody politically wise in Philadelphia, that the Secretary of Labor made his speech with the full knowledge and approval of President Hoover. That deduction gave significance to the comment of Pennsylvania's junior Senator:

> That talk by Davis [he said] is nonsense. The tariff bill we are about to pass is the worst in the history of the country. For the most part it is the work of mere theorists and half-baked economists. The expert who was the biggest factor in writing it is a Democrat and doesn't believe in the protective-tariff theory.
>
> No Republican who is a student of industrial conditions today is satisfied with the measure so sonorously praised by Secretary Davis. Immediately after it becomes a law I will set out to wipe it off the statute books. I will embark upon a campaign to elect delegates to the next national convention who will insist upon the adoption of a platform which will enunciate Republican demands for a real protective tariff and the nomination of a ticket that will square itself with that declaration.

The immediate effect of these pronouncements was the alignment of Pennsylvania Republicans into Hoover high tariffites on one side and Grundy higher tariffites on the other. The defiant Grundy statement is generally taken to be directed toward the White House. It is notice to the President that he need expect no Pennsylvania support for renomination if he continues to urge tariff schedules lower than the Grundy standards. The Davis statement was modified the following day when, after a Cabinet session, the Secretary of Labor was hustled back to Philadelphia by airplane to tell an amazed crowd at a meeting of the League of Women Voters that all the newspapers were wrong in quoting him to the effect that the Hawley-Smoot tariff is a good measure. "What I did say," he shouted, "was that the bill will be passed and that it will bring prosperity and remove unemployment"—which amounts to what he said the preceding day.

John M. Hemphill, Democratic candidate for Governor, defined the tariff stand of Pennsylvania Democrats at the same meeting to be adherence to protection that will care for the working people and will not be used to reward the friends and punish the foes of the Republicans who make the tariff. His pronouncement developed no applause. From no quarter comes any voice for lowering of tariff schedules. Sedgwick Kistler, Democratic candidate for Senator, is silent and Francis H. Bohlen, wet candidate for the same high office, makes the old-fashioned Republican declaration for a high tariff.

The Broadway Athletic Club a decade ago gave its patrons a battle royal every Saturday night. Ten husky Negroes fought for a ten-dollar bill offered by Diamond Lew Bailey, the generous promoter of the Broadway, the survivor receiving the total purse. It was gaudy and gory entertainment. Often the money went to some wily little fellow who did most of his execution by sneaking behind the more robust boxers engaged in trading punch for punch, and clipping each behind the ear with a boxing glove in which the hand had been reinforced by a bit of lead.

The Pennsylvania Republican primary brings Diamond Lew Bailey's idea into politics. The organization slate includes Francis Shunk Brown for Governor, James J. Davis for Senator, Philip H. Dewey for Secretary of Internal Affairs, George W. Maxey for the Supreme Court, and James Drew for the Superior Court. Deals are being made by which each of these will be traded off in various communities and by various interests in return for votes to be cast for anti-slate candidates.

Opposed to Davis is Joseph R. Grundy, sitting Senator through appointment by Governor Fisher. He is running alone. His running mate was to have been former State Treasurer Samuel S. Lewis of York County—but that's another story. Former Governor Gifford Pinchot is also fighting the organization slate in his campaign for the gubernatorial nomination. Charles Armstrong of Armstrong County is running with him for Lieutenant Governor. The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment has put a wet ticket in the field. Francis H. Bohlen, professor in the law school of the University of Pennsylvania, is its candidate for the Senate, Thomas W. Phillips for Governor, and Charles Dorrance for Lieutenant Governor. Judge Drew and Judge Maxey, the candidates slated for the Superior and the Supreme Courts, are opposed by Judge Graff and Judge McDade, while James F. Woodward and F. A. Godcharles are battling against Philip H. Dewey, former master of the State Grange, who is the slated candidate for Secretary of Internal Affairs.

To understand the tangle and its unlimited possibilities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for throat-cutting, trading, and skullduggery generally, it is necessary to turn back to February, when Bill Vare was in the field as a Senatorial candidate demanding vindication and an indorsement by the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh machines. He was at St. Lucie, Florida, wintering luxuriously in the big house where Quay, McNichol, and lesser men had framed Pennsylvania tickets. (Incidentally, organization men are saying that neither Quay nor Penrose would have permitted the toils and broils in which the machine finds itself today.) The war board of the Philadelphia organization—Big Tom Cunningham, Councilman Charlie Hall, and State Senator Sam Salus—went down from Philadelphia with a demand that Vare withdraw his candidacy because the war board wanted to get behind another Philadelphian, Francis Shunk Brown, for Governor. Vare bluntly refused. Two weeks later he was summoned to Philadelphia and given "the works." The Vare Construction Company has a large and profitable contract with the Pennsylvania Railroad. W. W. Atterbury, president of the Pennsylvania, is the Pennsylvania member of the Republican National Committee and is overlord of the Philadelphia war board. Besides his contract with the Pennsylvania Railroad Vare has other jobs with the Bell Telephone Company and other public-utility corporations. The pressure applied to the partially paralyzed former boss of the Quaker City was too great to be resisted. He withdrew, Brown was slated, and James J. Davis, who had previously been a candidate for the gubernatorial nomination, was selected for Senator.

Here arose a complication. Pittsburgh, which Davis claims as his residence, is also the home of Senior Senator Dave Reed. Davis's election would leave eastern Pennsylvania without a Senator. So the busy little press clique that gathers around Davis in Washington circulated a story to the effect that he would resign the Senatorship at the end of two years if elected, to make way for a man from Philadelphia.

Another problem facing the war board and Atterbury was the candidacy of Samuel S. Lewis for Governor. To remove it, they argued, would be to assure Brown's nomination. A minor concern was the candidacy of Thomas W. Phillips for the same office on a wet platform. The fear and hatred of the Mellons for Gifford Pinchot were invoked to bring about the removal of Lewis, and Andrew W. Mellon's birthday dinner in Pittsburgh was the occasion for the announcement of his death sentence. Governor Fisher, who has occasionally been loyal to Grundy but always superserviceable to Mellon, then told Grundy that he would oppose Lewis, and the Mellons made the same declaration. Lewis withdrew from the race and Grundy left in a rage.

For twenty-four hours it was believed that Grundy also would withdraw his Senatorial candidacy. That expectation was shattered when in an explosive formal statement he denounced Atterbury as the head of the Philadelphia gang, said that he would remain in the battle to the finish, and named as the outstanding issue of the campaign the plot of the corrupt Philadelphia machine to take over the State administration. Immediately afterward came a declaration by Lieutenant Governor Arthur James that he was remaining in the fight as an anti-organization candidate for the Supreme Court against Maxey, who was generally said to be the hand-picked candidate of Atterbury. Vare was for James, but the pressure that had removed his own candidacy operated to blot out his advocacy of James and the latter finally withdrew from the field, nursing his grievance. The minor problem of a wet ticket assumed major importance when the Philadelphia *Record* printed a story telling of immense pressure upon seven wet leaders to bring them into line for the ticket headed by Davis and Brown. One wing of the wets said it would be satisfied if Brown would say he was for a State-wide referendum upon Pennsylvania's prohibition-enforcement measure, the Snyder Act. Others, led by Raymond Pitcairn, musician, poet, and multimillionaire, said that nothing short of a statement by Brown flatly opposing the Eighteenth Amendment would be satisfactory. Congressman James M. Beck, Charles B. Hall, and Brown himself mulled over this proposition for a day, and Brown finally made a declaration for a referendum. The reply of Phillips, Pitcairn, Bohlen, and Robert Kelso Cassatt to the Brown statement was withering. The candidate was called a straddler, and the wets went into the battle with a vengeance.

Misfortune after misfortune now came to the beleaguered Davis-Brown outfit. Gifford Pinchot declared that 100,000 of the 500,000 names on the registration lists of Philadelphia were illegally there and demanded their removal. The Committee of Seventy made a test canvass of 1,000 registrations and verified Pinchot's charge by conclusive proof that in some gang-controlled divisions the illegal enrolment exceeded 25 per cent. The registration commission got to work and more than 30,000 names were removed from the rolls. Pinchot served notice upon public-utility companies and corporations generally that contributions either openly or by indirection to the gang's war chest for this campaign would be followed closely and punished relentlessly. The effect of this was unprecedented drought and the dreadful prospect before the gang leaders that they would be compelled for the first time in their lives to operate with some of their own money. O.P.M.—other people's money—has been the motto of these gentlemen hitherto.

But a greater woe was to come. Grundy repeated before a Senate committee his charges that Atterbury is the real head of the Philadelphia gang and that leaders of that crowd have secret and corrupt arrangements by which they receive juicy contracts and shares in profitable secret deals. A special investigating committee of the Senate, with Gerald P. Nye as its chairman, was named to probe these allegations and others that poured in upon the committee. Three undercover agents of the committee are working in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh upon these charges.

The situation of the Davis-Brown ticket, the only complete slate in the field, is that of an army attacked from three sides. Pinchot, its principal opponent, appears to have the virtually solid support of the drys everywhere and the confidence of all who have noted impartially his administration of the governor's office from 1922 to 1926. Grundy is opposing Brown and the Philadelphia gang even more viciously and effectively than in his onslaught upon Davis. To the Philadelphia organization the success of Grundy in his battle means the dismemberment of their city committee with its "Band of Brothers," the loss of thousands of places now held by their followers, and the greater loss of millions of dollars in contracts and pickings by themselves. Grundy has some followers among Philadelphia ward leaders now, and others will come as his prospects for victory increase.

The wets are making a stirring battle. They are led

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by wealthy amateurs who are battling unconventionally. Charles Denby, Jr., son-in-law of Senator David A. Reed —who, incidentally, is remaining in Europe far from the primary snarl—and nephew of the former Secretary of the Navy, is chairman of the Philadelphia city committee of the wets. They are making their principal drive against Brown and what they call his "straddle referendum." Indications are that Phillips will receive 100,000 votes in Philadelphia, virtually all of which would naturally have gone to Brown.

When Gifford Pinchot announced his candidacy in February his chances appeared hopeless. Now he has better than an even chance to win. Besides the drys he will get the votes of thousands of miners and of other unionized workers. The tumultuous greeting when he arose in the meeting of the League of Women Voters was audible evidence of the support he will get from women throughout the State. Grundy's fierce opposition to Brown plus the inroads upon the Brown strength by the wets gives to Pinchot advocates basis for their prediction that he will be nominated. The battle between Grundy and Davis is more even, with Davis apparently the stronger just now. Indications are that the surprise of the election will be the wet vote.

Combinations are encountered everywhere. In South Philadelphia, where voters of Italian and Russian birth and descent abound, the opposition to the immigration policy of Davis and the wet tendency of the voters have produced a number of Grundy and Phillips clubs. The Pittsburgh *Press* of the Scripps-Howard chain has declared for Pinchot and Bohlen. The Committee of Seventy, Philadelphia's veteran reform organization, is generally following the lead of its chairman, Thomas Raeburn White, who declared for Pinchot and Grundy. In the anthracite region, there are Bohlen-Pinchot clubs, Davis-Pinchot labor committees, and Grundy-Pinchot groups. Organization wards in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have Grundy-Brown and Davis-Phillips drives. The battle royal is on.

Safety Last

I. How Safe Is the Subway?*

By LOUIS RESNICK

I HAVE before me a letter from the vice-president of one of the largest publishing houses in America urging me to buy a book on accident prevention, which says: "The Union Pacific System cut its casualty losses *almost 600 per cent*" and "E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company reduced its accident rate *175 per cent.*" I have before me also an invitation to visit the Interborough (New York City) Rapid Transit Company's safety exhibit, which says: "In spite of necessary overloading, the subway has killed *in twelve years only twenty-seven passengers; making it not only the safest railroad in the world, but the safest place to be except home in bed.*" And there is on my desk a "Manual for Speakers," published by the National Safety Council, which advises the four-minute men of the safety movement to tell the world that "every two years—despite the automobile—we save enough lives, as compared with the 1907 rate, to replace our sacrifices in France."

In the face of these and other widely circulated claims concerning accident-reduction records, one should, perhaps, hesitate to ask: Has the safety movement failed? And one would hesitate if there didn't happen to come across one's desk, month after month and year after year, other records —less advertised, but more authentic—showing steady increases in the numbers of men, women, and children killed or injured by preventable accidents. The fact of the matter is that more people are being killed and mutilated by accidents in the United States now than at any time since the beginning of the safety movement twenty years ago. This will be shown presently from the records of government bureaus, employers' associations, insurance companies, and the several safety associations themselves.

It is true that the Union Pacific System, the United States Steel Corporation, the Pullman Company, and some other big industrial organizations have made accident prevention as important a factor as production or sales and so have brought about striking permanent reductions in their accident rates. It is equally true, however, that the bulk of American industry is made up of small plants (there are more than 100,000) and that the vast majority of these—more than 90 per cent, in the opinion of close students of the safety movement—pay little or no attention to accident prevention. The good records of a few big companies are given the most widespread and repeated publicity; the poor records of a hundred thousand little companies and of many of the big corporations are rarely mentioned. The same is true of accidents outside of industry, in our homes, on our streets, and in other public places. And so most of us are lulled into the belief that great progress is being made in the safety movement—if the day of no accidents isn't actually just around the corner.

Examination of the records brings to light a different picture. Let us see, for instance, how the Interborough's statement that the subways of New York City killed only twenty-seven passengers in twelve years compares with the facts. There is in New York a Transit Commission, appointed by the governor, which records data concerning subway accidents from sworn records submitted by the transportation companies. The records of this commission show that in 1928 alone 92 passengers were killed on the combined subway and elevated lines of New York City. In the same year 14,591 passengers were injured on these lines. The year before 103 passengers were killed and 13,386 passengers were injured. The 1928 total included 18 I. R. T. passengers who were killed and 100 who were injured in one accident in "the safest place to be, except home in bed."

Records of the Transit Commission show that during

* This is the first in a series of three articles on the safety movement. The second and third will appear in the issues of May 21 and 28.—Editor The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONS KILLED OR INJURED IN NEW YORK SUBWAYS AND ELEVATED—1917-28

Year	*All Passengers Killed*	*I.R.T. Passengers Killed*	*All Passengers Injured*	*I.R.T. Passengers Injured*	*All Persons Killed*	*All Persons Injured*
1917	46	31	13,220	11,657	71	15,092
1918	37	23	9,443	7,912	177	12,692
1919	141	36	9,450	8,504	94	13,067
1920	45	30	10,141	9,350	61	12,672
1921	49	35	11,811	10,588	72	14,796
1922	62	45	11,299	10,100	72	14,596
1923	58	41	10,902	9,675	100	15,221
1924	91	66	10,435	9,283	111	15,021
1925	75	46	11,781	9,858	88	16,579
1926	94	49	12,464	9,481	108	19,296
1927	103	75	13,386	9,901	130	20,934
1928	92	65	14,591	10,780	131	22,609
Total	893	542	138,523	117,089	1,215	192,575
1929*	130	102	16,693	12,297	135	24,542

The figures given in this table are a matter of public record, being taken directly from the annual reports of the Transit Commission. The figures in the text, based on the first five columns of this table, apply to *passengers only*. The last two columns given above, showing *all persons* killed and injured, include not only passengers, but also employees and "others"—mostly employees, "others" probably being trespassers.

the twelve years from 1917 to 1928, inclusive, the subways of New York (including their elevated subsidiaries) killed not 27, but 870 passengers—counting only those who were killed instantly or who died within ten days of the accident—and injured 138,000 more. On the I. R. T. system alone, according to Transit Commission records, 542 passengers were killed and 117,089 injured in these twelve years. The commission's records bulk subway and elevated accidents, as both lines are operated by one company and what is subway in one part of New York becomes elevated line in another part of the city.

Analysis of the company's operating costs, however, discloses that 30 per cent of the expense on account of injuries is incurred on the elevated division and 70 per cent on the subway division. Applying this ratio to the casualty list of the combined system, we find that *379 passengers (not 27) were killed and 82,000 injured on the subway division of the I. R. T. alone* during the twelve years from 1917 to 1928.

Incidentally, the Transit Commission reports show that "expenses on account of injuries and damages" among the New York City passenger-transportation companies have risen steadily from $3,202,000 in 1921 to $5,469,000 in 1928. In eight years these companies (or shall we say their passengers?) have spent $38,000,000 "on account of injury and damage." This went for such items as claim-department expenses, claims for injuries to employees, "other injuries and damages," salaries of attorneys, "court costs and expenses," and "other expenses."

The mathematical genius who decided that the Union Pacific System had reduced its accidents to 500 per cent less than nothing and that the Du Pont Company went 75 per cent beyond perfection in accident prevention is a piker when compared to the author of "Subway Safety," a booklet of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, issued on October 5, 1928. This booklet says:

To ride in the Interborough Subway is 22 times safer than to be on the streets of New York City. It is 28 times safer than riding in an automobile. It is about 400 times safer than going in swimming. Believe it or not, a subway ride is even 6 times safer than to stay at home and 14 times safer than merely to live in the United States. These are not guesses; they are comparisons of official records.

The vividest way to express the hazards that accompany any human act is by the number of years needed by that mathematical window dummy, labeled the average man, to kill himself doing it. If no one died except by accident life in the United States would last 1,255 years, which figure is the present death-rate by accident divided into the population. . . . At present death-rates the average person using the New York City streets will die by accident after 1,600 years of spending eight hours a day on them. The average autoist will last only 1,200 years. Even the person who stays all day at home cannot escape a fatal accident for longer than about 2,000 years.

But the average passenger in the Interborough subway, as is proved by comparing records of deaths, passengers, and minutes of average ride for the past ten years, could ride for twenty-four hours each day and three hundred and sixty-five days each year for 11,728 years before he would be killed in any kind of accident. The Interborough is not only the safest railroad in the world; it is the safest place in New York City except to be in bed asleep. It is even safer, statistics of home accidents show, than getting in or out of bed.

What more could one ask for a nickel?

This juggling of figures to give the appearance of great progress in accident prevention is not exactly characteristic of the entire safety movement; but it is not a rare instance. It is illustrative of a widespread tendency in the safety movement to be content with publicity rather than performance.

[A proof of Mr. Resnick's article was sent to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. The company's comments

* The figures for 1929 became available only after this article was in type.—EDITOR THE NATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the article were forwarded to Mr. Resnick. We print herewith the reply of the I. R. T., together with a brief rejoinder by Mr. Resnick.—EDITOR THE NATION.

The figures in the booklet "Subway Safety" of October 5, 1928, issued by this company are correct. The 542 passengers killed, referred to in your statement, are divided as follows:

27 were subway passengers who boarded the trains;
7 were elevated passengers who boarded the trains;
226 were suicides;
282 were trespassers and persons falling down stairs.

You have properly stated that most of the deaths to passengers who actually boarded the trains were due to the serious accident in 1928. Of course, the tremendous increase in the number of passengers carried should also be taken into consideration.

FRANK HEDLEY,
President and General Manager

Mr. Resnick's reply to the statement of President Hedley is as follows:

According to the reports of the Transit Commission, prepared on the basis of sworn statements submitted by the transportation companies themselves, during the years 1917 to 1928, inclusive, 542 passengers were killed on the I. R. T. system. During the twelve years, 1918 to 1929, inclusive, 613 passengers were killed. These totals do not include "employees killed" and "others killed," both of which groups are listed separately. Instead of reporting that 226 persons killed were suicides and 282, trespassers or persons falling downstairs, the commission simply reports 542 passengers killed. Mr. Freeman, of the Accident Bureau of the Transit Commission, has just confirmed by telephone what is apparent in the Transit Commission's annual report—namely, that fatalities to trespassers are included under the classification of "others," not under the classification of passengers.

LOUIS RESNICK

Detroit's Crime Clinic

By J. A. FELLOWS

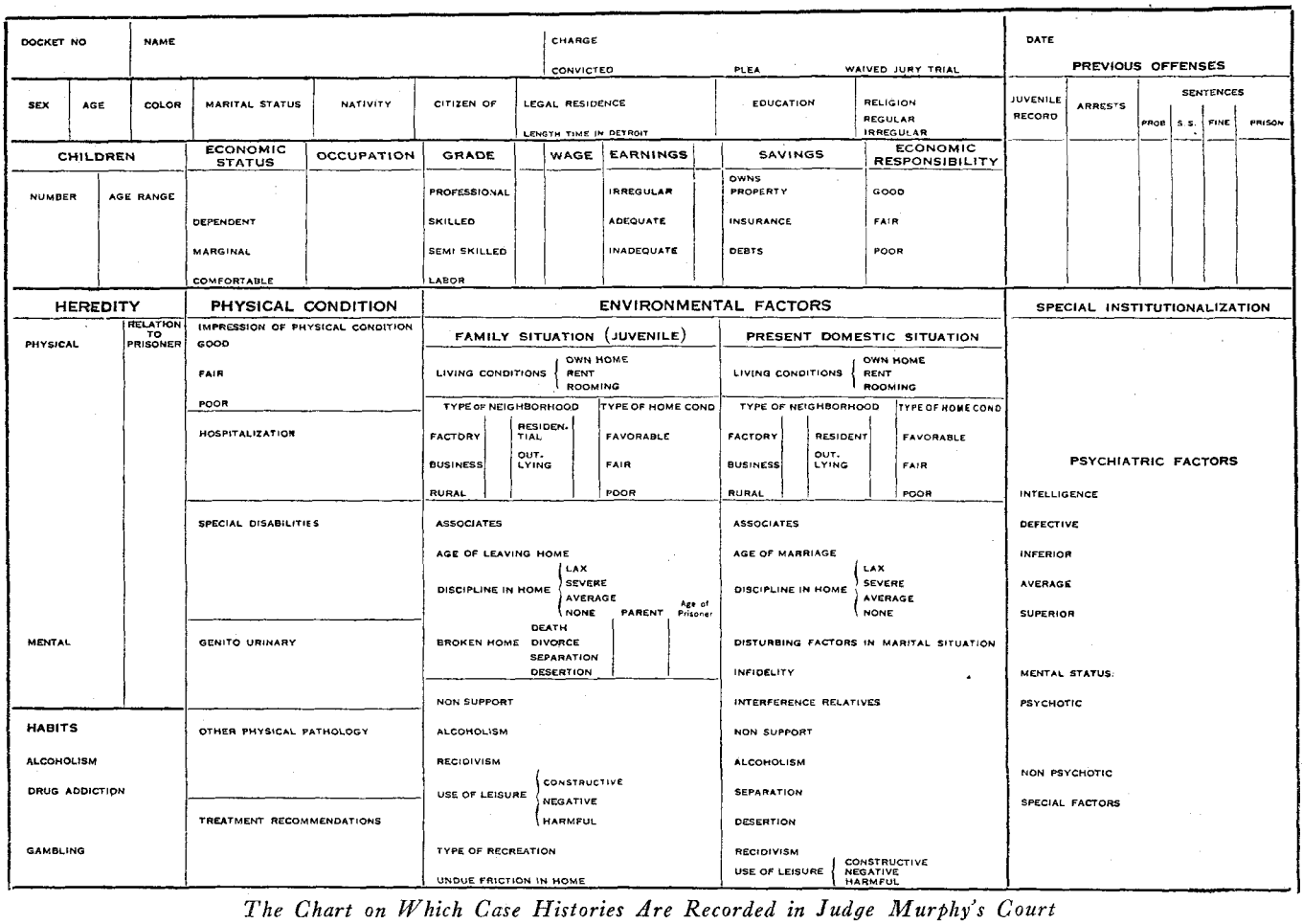
JUDGE FRANK MURPHY, of the Recorder's Court, since January first of this year has employed a new technique in handling all felony cases. In order that all factors bearing on the life or crime of the prisoner may be known, Judge Murphy refers every case to the Probation Department and the psychiatric clinic for complete examination and research. To minimize the effect of judicial temperament in passing sentence and to introduce more than one point of view into the judgment of the cases, he has established a sentencing board consisting of himself, the head of the Probation Department, and the chief of the psychiatric staff. These three meet in conference and decide on the sentence that will benefit most not only society, but the prisoner as well. At least one week is allowed for the tests and examinations and securing of information by the Probation Department. All significant data on the mental, physical, social, and economic status of the patient are included. The personality type and the presence or absence of criminal tendencies are established. When the investigation has been completed the sentencing board meets with the prisoner. At the end of this conference the prisoner is excused and the three members of the board decide what the sentence shall be. The sentence is later pronounced by the judge in open court in the regular way.

For the easy and accurate presentation of these case histories a most ingenious chart has been devised by Judge Murphy. It shows at a glance the hereditary and environmental influences at work on the individual and the frequent striking correlations between them. The general physical condition of the prisoner, past diseases, and diseases of ancestors which might have a bearing on the case are indicated on the chart. The mental age of the prisoner and all tendencies to insanity either in the prisoner or in his forebears are noted. His standing in society, his job or his lack of a job, his ability to cooperate, his economic condition—all are tabulated. One can learn instantly from the chart all the important influences in his life, from divorce to alcohol. The aid of such detailed and pertinent information in making a decision as to the probable future conduct of the subject cannot be overestimated. In fact, only with the help of such data, intelligently interpreted, can a fair, constructive sentence be passed. In the event of probation, the chart helps to solve the problem of environment. When a case is studied thus impartially and with a view to understanding all factors involved in the commission of crime, the harsh, punitive, and harmful element is automatically removed from the sentence. The prisoner feels that he has been fairly dealt with and is inclined to cooperate in bringing about his own rehabilitation. The resentment and hatred for society which most prisoners show are eliminated. The endless, destructive, and expensive chain of vengeance against the criminal and retaliatory vengeance on the part of the criminal against society is broken.

Judge Murphy's procedure of calm and unprejudiced inquiry is the only sure method of revealing the mentally sick and those unfortunate victims of circumstances who really have no criminal tendencies. The aim is scientific treatment of the former during their detention and probation for the latter wherever possible.

X was placed on probation after pleading guilty to the charge of Uttering and Publishing, one check for $74.25 furnishing the specific charge. Three checks in all had been written and the provision of his probation was restitution of the money. The case went through court in 1929. In February of this year X was arrested for violation of his probation, having failed to make his weekly payments. Commitment was recommended by the Probation Department on the ground that he was uncooperative and anti-social. The regular routine that has been established in Judge Murphy's court was carried out and the completed reports showed a very different situation. They revealed a real desire to cooperate, a valiant effort to care for his family during the hard times of the past winter, inability to obtain the necessary money for payments, and a lack of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Chart on Which Case Histories Are Recorded in Judge Murphy's Court

knowledge of the regulations of the Probation Department that required him to report when a payment was due, whether he had the money or not. As a result of the report of the psychiatrist and after a conference of the sentencing board probation was extended and X was allowed to continue to care for his family.

Y was tried for statutory rape with a count for indecent liberties. There was a disagreement of the jury the first time; the second time he was found guilty. His psychiatric examination brought out certain instabilities of character in connection with the use of alcohol. He has a family dependent on him. He was placed on probation with the provision that he cannot take a drink.

The scientific handling of criminal cases does not necessarily mean shorter sentences for those found guilty of felonies. Conditions that warrant longer periods of isolation from society than would otherwise occur are sometimes brought to light. A case tried recently before Judge Murphy illustrates this point. Z, about fifty years old, was found guilty of statutory rape on his seven-year-old stepdaughter, the case having been brought to the attention of the prosecutor by the school nurse. When the completed chart was examined several significant findings indicated a progressive sexual disturbance that would become more and more dangerous to society if the subject were at large. The chart showed a mentality of seven years, a history of past sex offenses gradually increasing in their seriousness, psychopathic traits, progressive mental disorder. He was given an indeterminate sentence of from five to twenty years with recommendation that he be detained as long as he showed the present dangerous symptoms. This may mean permanent isolation.

Judge Murphy's charts are probably the most complete histories of criminal cases ever compiled. The statistics available in a year or so may establish some very interesting and instructive correlations between factors that have not been recognized as of particular significance. Glancing over the charts of the one hundred cases of convicted felons that have passed through Judge Murphy's court this year one is struck by the large number of those who were left orphans at an early age, whose homes were broken up, or whose homes were listed as very poor. Preventive measures will be largely guided in the future by such statistics as these. Moreover, the scientific classification of criminals, which is one of the results of such a careful procedure, must inevitably lead to different methods of handling prisoners. Psychopathic cases, sex cases, and normal but weak first offenders will not be herded indiscriminately together once these types are clearly defined and recognized. The very vagueness and lack of concise information concerning types of criminals has been mainly responsible for their common treatment and association under the same discipline and conditions. Already Judge Murphy has been approached by prison wardens who wish to apply his methods.

This brief review of a practical step toward better understanding and handling of criminal cases shows how carefully Judge Murphy steers his course between the two dangers of a coldly scientific attitude on the one hand and too great sympathy on the other. The conference of the board with the prisoner, and with his nearest of kin when desirable, cannot fail to introduce the human element. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presence of three experts with different professional points of view, each accustomed to dealing with criminals, precludes any possibility of sentimentality. It is too early to prophesy the results of the reforms introduced by Judge Murphy. But it has been so difficult to get any practical trial of the constructive, progressive theories of crime that these innovations are bound to have far-reaching influence.

In the Driftway

THE Drifter had to go to Louisiana to find out what a bayou is. He had always supposed it to be a narrow, sluggish watercourse, reaching only a few miles back from some river or bay and going nowhere in particular. He had thought that one could use rowboats and perhaps small motor craft on it, but had never supposed it to be navigable in the commercial sense. A bayou, the Drifter had imagined, was necessarily overhung with branches of trees and wreaths of drooping moss. Above all, a bayou was a dreamy, out-of-the-way stream, away from habitations and of no practical importance. It is true that a bayou is sluggish and generally narrow; also a bayou is likely to be lined with trees. But the larger bayous, though dreamy enough, are anything but unsettled and of no practical importance. Nor are they short streams going nowhere in particular. On the contrary, they are lined with settlements for which they were once the great, if not the sole, highways, and even today steamboats and barges ply them in important numbers.

* * * * *

THE ordinary map gives us no idea of these bayous. In general, modern maps are of two kinds—automobile maps and what are called "political" maps. Automobile maps show the highways and towns but not the railroads. "Political" maps show the railroads and towns but not the highways. Neither kind of map shows the waterways in an adequate way, least of all the bayous. Perhaps the Coast and Geodetic Survey does better; the Drifter has not examined its maps. He knows, though, that steamboat pilots do not use them. They learn the bayous through years of wandering through their long, tortuous courses. Bayous extend all over the State. Some connect two other bayous; some connect two rivers; some are extra outlets for rivers.

* * * * *

OWING to the inadequate delineation of the bayous on the maps one gets strange surprises upon inquiring about the possibilities of steamboat travel out of New Orleans. One learns that there are more steamboats on the bayous and small tributaries of the Mississippi River than on the Father of Waters itself. One learns that it is possible to reach the Gulf of Mexico by boat from New Orleans by going almost due south through a series of canals and bayous, the total distance amounting to about half of that by way of the Mississippi River. Stranger still, one learns that he can reach by steamboat towns 100 miles west of New Orleans, which, to look at the maps, would seem to be accessible only by a vessel propelled over dry land on stilts. New Iberia, in the midst of the "Evangeline country"—halfway across the State on an east-west line—is served by two regular steamboats from New Orleans.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Revolutionary Tactics

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A discussion of revolutionary tactics, on which Heywood Broun seeks enlightenment in your issue of April 23, is not necessary when Lenin and others have written so fully on the subject. But if at this date, after watching the MacDonald Government in Great Britain, Mr. Broun still believes we can sit comfortably by the fireside and vote in a revolutionary change his faith is so touching perhaps it should not be disturbed.

No doubt it is this same tendency to faith rather than action which leads to his belief that the Soviet Union is in no danger of being attacked. Yet the very recent noisy campaign against the Soviet's religious policies ought to be warning enough that a full crop of enemies lies in wait ready to spring if attention is diverted from them for one minute.

When he comes to comment on the Union Square unemployment demonstrations of March 6 Mr. Broun lines up with the press of the city, which says, "If the police said those unemployed workers could not parade they should not have tried to parade. It was just baiting the cops to go ahead." Yet according to the law, workers have the right not only to assemble, but to parade through the streets and to petition the government. Not even the whim of a police commissioner changes that.

Eyewitnesses of the breaking up of the Union Square meeting, as well as motion pictures and photographs, testify to the fact that the police were not "baited," but indulged in an orgy of brutality against a crowd that was moving in an orderly manner. Such lawlessness has been developed in the police force of this city not only by orders from "higher up," but by a type of spineless citizen who, when driving an auto, lets a snarling traffic cop yell in his face, insult him, threaten him if he is so bold as to venture a remark, and who accepts this passively because to assert his rights would mean trouble.

Fortunately the workers of the city are made of different stuff. And there are Communist leaders willing to risk clubbing and jail terms to let the police know they have an exaggerated idea of their functions.

New York, April 25 HELEN BLACK

D. H. Lawrence

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Aldous Huxley, who is said to have been a personal friend and admirer of D. H. Lawrence, used him under a thin disguise in a story, "Two or Three Graces," which by chance I was reading on the very day of Lawrence's death. The picture is fuller and more convincing than the one in "Point Counter Point." It shows a character temperamentally rather cold who admired above everything the expression of feeling. He was always whipping his emotions into a violent rage or infatuation and using the mood as material for fiction. His favorite word was "passional."

If this is a true picture of D. H. Lawrence it may offer the clue Mr. Krutch was calling for in his article of March 19. Suppose that Lawrence, that great connoisseur of emotional experience, had to make his material as it were synthetically. Could any deaf musician or astigmatic painter be a neater example of the law of compensation?

St. Petersburg, Fla., March 30 MARIAN TYLER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Defense of England

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am an Englishwoman who has had intimate experience of working-class life in England during the past sixteen years. May I be allowed to comment on the gloomy picture of my country which is drawn in *The Nation* of April 23? It is true that the value of our exports has gone down since the war and that there has been much unemployment, but against this should be set the astonishing progress in culture, in civilization, and in all that makes for real democracy among our people. The advance has been so persistent and steady, so natural and spontaneous, that most of the upper class and all foreigners seem to have missed it. To begin at the bottom, take the astounding decrease in crime, in spite of the war and in spite of the prevalence of unemployment. No less than twenty-four prisons have been closed in the past few years. An adult-education scheme on very liberal lines has been set up in all the prisons. Take also the spontaneous and voluntary decrease in drinking. During the past eight years I have seen no drunkenness in the town where I work.

But these are only by-products of a marked and increasing rise in standards of living, not so much material as educational and political. There has been, for instance, an immense increase of university tutorial three-year classes since the war, and the movement is continually developing new forms of service. These classes not only raise the general level of thought but train men to play a more intelligent part in trade-union locals, in town councils, and in cooperative guilds. The awakening in the villages has been revolutionary of late years. The writer has found that the proposal for a course of lectures of a radical type on China, Russia, or Africa has been greeted with enthusiasm in remote villages by shepherds and agricultural laborers. All this since the war.

The last general election was symptomatic of the new England. In the city of Lincoln (70,000) 86 per cent of the population voted, and of the working class the proportion was even higher. In Peterborough it was 90 per cent, and these cases were not exceptional. There was no noisy enthusiasm, rowdiness, or crowd behavior, but the interest and discussion were more intelligent than they have ever been. The increasing part taken by the wives of artisans and laborers, who practically manage the Labor Party organization during the daytime, was marked. Everywhere the readiness to undertake unpaid service is the secret of working-class progress. Again, there is no doubt that the standard of taste in dress, in house furnishing, and in personal habits has been steadily rising. I have not space to mention the improvements in all grades of education.

To sum up, a continual rise in civilization is now expected and taken as a matter of course by the workers—i.e., a *class* improvement, not a merely individual one. I believe that while in England the upper class made the civilization of the eighteenth century and the middle class that of the nineteenth, the working class will mold a civilization in the twentieth century with no less distinctive a quality. All this sounds like boasting, but when I find such an enlightened paper as *The Nation,* which values democracy, working-class progress, education, and the part of women in public life, actually pitying England for her "deterioration" since the war I feel that the report of our death has been very much exaggerated.

We are all too much obsessed with money standards. If I had to choose between the progress of the English workers since the war, which I have described, and a greater financial turnover, with the standards of before the war, I should choose to have things as they are.

New York, April 24 Alice M. Cameron

Christian Social Ethics

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your readers may be interested in a school of Christian Social Ethics to be opened this June in connection with the Conference for Church Work at Wellesley College. Those planning the school are all seeking to learn what the acceptance of Christian ideals without compromise would mean in political, social, and industrial life.

Three lines of study are to be followed: Christian Social Theory, History, and Practice. Dr. Gavin, professor in the General Theological Seminary, New York, is to give a course under the first head; Dr. Niles Carpenter, of the University of Buffalo, under the second; while the course in practical applications is to be given by the Reverend Auguste Demant of the Christian Social Council, England. Students of any or no church are welcome. It would be particularly stimulating if some would register who agree with the Soviet government that the church is inevitably an obstacle to social advance.

Leaflets with full information may be obtained from Miss Marjorie Martin, 21 East Sixteenth Street, Brooklyn.

Wellesley, Mass., April 25 Vida D. Scudder

The Folly of Work

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The League for Industrial Democracy has chosen as the subject for its June conference this year "Racketeering High and Low—The Folly of Work," and has asked me to serve as collector of material with a view to publishing a rather ambitious book that would summarize the worst abuses of our industrial system. We are looking for important facts about racketeering in the power industry, real estate, financial organization, marketing, advertising, insurance, manufacture, and labor unionism. Our plan is to get progressives in all parts of the United States to send in information concerning instances in which persons or corporations have captured part of our economic resources and machinery and are using their position of vantage to extract personal gain without commensurate service. Readers of *The Nation* who have knowledge of specific rackets or who are willing to do some research in this field are asked to write me at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York.

New York, April 17 Paul Blanshard

Contributors to This Issue

Richard J. Beamish, political staff correspondent of the Philadelphia *Record,* is considered one of the most competent of commentators on political affairs in the State of Pennsylvania.

Louis Resnick, coauthor of "Eye Hazards in Industrial Occupations," was formerly connected with the National Safety Council.

J. A. Fellows is the pseudonym of an observer who is in intimate touch with conditions in the courts of Detroit.

William Seagle is the author of "Cato, or the Future of Censorship."

Ray C. B. Brown was for many years managing editor of *Musical America.*

Ernst Kulka is a gynecologist at the University Women's Clinic in Vienna.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Films, Drama

De Libris

By ROBERT LIDDELL LOWE

Let it suffice that I have heard
And never read of how a maiden
Lay with a bright betraying bird
Who loved and left her heavy-laden;

Or how a king, unbonneted,
Without a kingdom or a bed,
Strode through a storm, while tempests far
More furious raged within his head.

It is enough that I have heard,
Though no book told me, how at night
A tiger trod the forest's floor,
Burning terrible and bright.

There will be time for books when I
Have grown too weary pondering,
Too tired of reading once again
The pale white syllables of spring.

Fake Culture for Real

King Mob. By Frank K. Notch. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THIS is a curious book, revealing an odd mixture of merits and defects. The author, writing under the pseudonym of Frank K. Notch, is a man with a genuine literary gift. Much that he has to say is shrewd and discerning, and all of it is set forth with an exhilarating passion. But his arguments are sometimes more distinguished for animus than for plausibility, and when he attempts metaphysics the results are deplorable. The book, moreover, is badly organized: Mr. Notch constantly loses sight of his goal, and reminds one of nothing so much as the man who leapt on his horse and rode off furiously in every direction.

The dominant thesis from which Mr. Notch so often wanders is the destructive effect of the "mob" on cultural values.

> A mob is made up of a group of persons unable to think straight because they are affected by the consciousness of their own numbers. The group may be small and contained in a meeting-hall or a public square; it may be large, extending through a city or an entire country. It may even be international; but before it can be a Mob it must be touched with the thrilling awareness of number, and unable to examine the *intrinsic* value of an idea because its simultaneous presence in so many minds gives it another kind of value.
>
> The subject matter of the idea may be almost anything: an insult to the flag; a catchword like "or what have you"; bobbed hair; a fashion in clothes, pronunciation, or philosophy; a baseball player, an actor, a book, a shade of color, a political or religious leader; Negro sculpture, Chinese drawing, the assassination of the Czar, or a flight across the Atlantic.

The mob expresses its intolerance by trying to drag larger numbers into its mood.

> The fashion Mob (in dress, books, culture, science, etc.) uses derision, a bitter, cutting derision which makes the outsider wince. The patriotic Mob uses rage, which makes the outsider tremble. . . . Persons are drawn into the Mob, and remain in it, because of panic, the terror of being left outside.

The author then takes up in successive chapters various manifestations of the mob spirit in contemporary life—in literature, advertising, politics, science, nationalism. In the field of letters he finds the mob spirit becoming more rampant month by month. Its symptoms are the book clubs, the army of popularizers, and the new methods of advertising, which no longer emphasize the merits of a volume, but its sales. "The public must be 'panicked' (as good vaudevillians are said to 'panic' the audience) into the buying of a book."

And what kind of volume is it being "panicked" into buying? For one thing, the works of the popularizers. The word "popularizer," the author reminds us, comes from the old Latin *popa,* a butcher. "It does not seem to be understood that certain subjects cannot be simplified beyond a given point without losing their substance and character." The Will Durants, van Loons, Lewis Brownes, and Brisbanes cheapen and degrade their subjects. Their popularizations are not merely harmless. They constitute "an assault upon the world's cultural values," for by his misrepresentations the average popularizer seeks to hide the disciplinary character of intellectual effort; he encourages intellectual laziness in the few who might ultimately have been initiated. "The truth is that the millions who read Durant, van Loon, and their kind do not want philosophy or history. They want the painless removal of a vague inferiority complex." The mob, in brief, "destroys spiritual values by accepting them."

> When the low cannot reach the high it pulls down the high to its own level. There is a Gresham's law in spiritual values too: a debased currency thrusts a good currency out of circulation. The rewards offered by the Mob in money and adulation in exchange for fake culture values are enormous; young talents are tempted and corrupted.

The march of invention, again, particularly of all invention that increases the rapidity of communication, has reached the point where it is becoming more and more anti-cultural in effect by increasing the dominance of the mob, particularly through the growth of newspapers and movies. "The restless run of ideas and pictures, disconnected information, turns life into a jumble of items, fragmented newspaper paragraphs." Mankind becomes a Coney Island mob, which can be kept going only by not being too interested in anything.

> With the invention of movable type and the advent of cheaper printing the Mob took a forward move. The National Mobs began to form, enfolding millions at a time. With the coming of the railroad and the telegraph the National Mobs began to coalesce; and now, with radio and television, the World Mob is at hand, an organized, international, self-perpetuating Mob, the first phenomenon of its kind in human history.

There is a great deal of irrelevant matter in the book, chiefly on the alleged antagonism between nature and the spirit, and on the latest conclusions of science. These sections consist for the most part of ill-digested Eddington, and their argument is hopelessly garbled. Mr. Notch is more plausible when he sticks to his main contention—that the world is becoming increasingly mob-minded, and that the mob is always and everywhere the enemy of culture. But even here one is compelled to eye many of his specific arguments dubiously. A "mob" brought into being by cheaper printing, for example,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hardly seems an unrelieved menace. And are the book clubs, to come to our own day, really enemies of culture? Mr. Notch's arguments against them, at least, are not very convincing. When he declares, for example, that "month by month the Mob of 100,000 [book-club subscribers] switches its hysteria from book to book," one wonders whether the mob or Mr. Notch is the more hysterical. For a problem that has long puzzled me is this: Why do Mr. Notch and people like him become so angry or alarmed because a fairly good book (I am not talking in terms of eternity, but in terms of contemporary life) is taken by 100,000 subscribers a month, and yet remain comparatively calm when a magazine like the *Saturday Evening Post*—with much lower average standards than the leading book clubs—circulates to twenty times as many persons a week? Or when a paper of the level of the *Daily News* is bought by ten times as many persons a day? What is the vital difference in principle between subscribing to a book club and subscribing to a magazine? I do not wish to be understood as offering any blanket defense of the book clubs. It is true that the very fact that a book club has 100,000 subscribers limits its range of choice. But it still seems extremely probable to me (and the actual record of the book clubs strengthens this opinion) that the choices of even the least intelligent book club are much less foolish on the average than those the subscribers would have made for themselves. Meanwhile there is nothing to prevent Mr. Notch or any other independent spirit from making his own wise selections from the 800 books published each month.

In brief, it seems to me that in spite of the truth and importance of much that Mr. Notch has to say, he has often allowed his indignation and his eloquence to run away with his common sense. The outlook for culture today is surely not a brilliant one, but I do not see that it is appreciably worse than it has ever been. The problem is immemorial, and perhaps irresolvable. For culture, as Santayana has pointed out, "is on the horns of this dilemma: if profound and noble it must remain rare, if common it must become mean."

HENRY HAZLITT

Souls in Business

The Company. By Edwin Seaver. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THIS book is one of the most significant volumes of fiction by an American writer to appear in recent years. Other writers will perhaps work out some of the implications of "The Company" more fully than Seaver has done; but whether they do or not the book will stand as an original contribution to recent writing.

Seaver has attempted, and I believe altogether successfully, a new realistic interpretation of our industrial era. He is concerned not with machines, but with human values; he conceives the "mechanization" and "standardization" of our lives as due not so much to domination by our tools as to broken faith with the high purposes and responsibilities that we conceive for ourselves and for human life in general. Always in his stories there is the instant's weakness and the eventual failure, leading to frustration of the individual. But this frustration is not conceived as inherent, and the weakness leading to it is always pointed out. Seaver's treatment of his material is objective; he writes of the boss, of stenographers and clerks and vice-presidents, in stories by turns humorous, satiric, straightforwardly realistic, and occasionally farcical. He treats his characters first of all as individuals, but one is not long in recognizing that they are also types and are, within their limitations, universal. The Company itself, far from being the personalized force it sometimes becomes, is here no more than an abstraction.

I am impressed with the forms of these stories and with the lasting freshness and vitality of the writing. Seaver uses common words—almost a monosyllabic style—yet with them obtains a lyrical expression that is remarkably varied and effective. The suggestion of his work is musical both in its rhythmic flow and in the presence of certain constant sensuous and emotional values. The forms are also musical—All Talking, an overture; Idyll, a scherzo; The Kiss, a theme and development; and Smoke, a full sonata.

CLINTON SIMPSON

Whitewash for Pope

Alexander Pope. By Edith Sitwell. Cosmopolitan Book Corporation. $4.

CRITICS have generally felt strongly—one way or another—about Alexander Pope, but no one, I think, ever felt about him before with the almost maudlin tenderness exhibited by Miss Sitwell. She has taken him under her protection, gone forth to fight his battles, and, apparently, conceived for him that sort of romantic attachment which is generally reserved for poets of a softer kind. Indeed, one can explain her excitement only on the assumption that she has made some sort of identification between herself and him, and the result is a study with all the interest and all the defects inevitable under the circumstances. It says in favor of Pope many of the things which have never been said before, but it is also almost ludicrously intemperate, biased, and blind to all the things it would not see.

Pope is, she says, "in his two finest poems perhaps the most flawless artist our race has produced." Much could be said in defense of that statement, but Miss Sitwell almost forgets to say any of it in her passionate determination to demonstrate more dubious and less important theses. She denounces those who assume that poetry has anything to do with goodness, and then, with an inconsistency all too characteristic of her method, she devotes the greater part of her book to an attempt to demonstrate that Pope was "a good and exceedingly lovable man." She finds the key to his character in the shame which he felt when reminded of his physical deformity, and she maintains that friendship was the thing he longed for most, but her method is to retell with most evident bias all the stories of his intrigues while judging him by one standard and his enemies by another. When Pope succeeds in getting his ironical review of Ambrose Philips accepted at its face value by Steele, it is only a clever device, and when he slyly administers an emetic to the publisher Curll, it is no more than a publisher deserves; but when Pope himself becomes the victim of a hoax, then no condemnation is too strong for those who would stoop to such an underhanded revenge.

Pope was, of course, the subject of vile slanders, but so was every other person of prominence who happened to live in the days of Queen Anne, and it would be hard indeed to demonstrate that he was less ready than his fellows to use the weapons of the time. He fought fiercely with his lesser contemporaries, and it matters little how the fights started. The fact remains that he was mercilessly cruel to those much weaker than himself, and that he delighted in breaking gnats and fleas (if not butterflies) upon the mighty wheel of his satire. Perhaps we need not pity them, but surely we need not, like Miss Sitwell, tremble with rage at the thought of the "thousand venomous little scribblers who attack him" if we but pause to remember how much more than a match he was for them all.

When Dennis mocked his deformity he was not above retorting, in lines whose brilliancy made them immortal, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dennis was poor. *If* Lady Mary laughed at his declaration of love and *if* his retort was the couplet:

> "From furious Sappho scarce a kinder fate,
> Poxed by her love or libeled by her hate,"

then at least they were quits, and there is hardly occasion to moon pityingly over the man who could defend himself thus. If any favor is to be shown in judging between him and his enemies, then surely it must be said that his strength obligated him to a certain consideration which he did not show. In his battles with Grub Street he had genius, fame, social position, and financial security on his side. He did not spare the weaknesses of others and there is no reason why posterity should spare his.

The attitude of protective tenderness which Miss Sitwell takes toward him seems, indeed, singularly inappropriate. He chose not to ask for the world's pity, and he consented to use certain weapons—intrigue and boundless prevarication—which may possibly be justified by success but which certainly deprive him of the right to sentimental commiseration in his failures. Though it is difficult to praise his art too highly, it is easy to be absurd in the effort to make a knight *sans reproche* out of a man too great to need a spotless reputation. To treat him as one would treat the merely innocent, to pity him as one would pity one of "God's fools" is, indeed, to be more than absurd, for it is to wrong Pope himself by failing to recognize the kind of character which he so triumphantly represents. A Pope who can be yearned over is merely so much the less Pope.

Those critics who think they are praising his poetry when they grant it as much of romantic feeling as could well be expected in so benighted an age have but little sense of the qualities which make that poetry great, but the effort to make him a "forerunner of romanticism" is hardly less ill advised than the effort to prove him a kindly and sentimental man. A certain hard competence, a certain willingness to depend upon wit alone, a certain preference for the world of ferocious give-and-take—all these are parts of the idea of the man no less essential to that idea than a confidence in the sufficiency of point, and skill, and clarity is essential to the idea of his poetry. I would not willingly trade Pope the complete Augustan for any version which represented him as a Keats manqué, and I am hardly less willing to trade Pope the malicious wit for Miss Sitwell's sentimental hunchback. The most interesting thing about a wasp is that he stings uncommonly well.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Misgovernment by Injunction

The Labor Injunction. By Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene. The Macmillan Company. $5.

THE lack of an authoritative book on the labor injunction has often been deplored by public-spirited Americans interested in civil liberty. But the origin of the present book seems curiously remote. Apparently the first impulse toward it came from an English law-journal editor who wished to inform his readers of the strange practices of their American cousins. Like many another legal invention the injunction had originated in England but had fallen into desuetude there with the rise of British labor to political power.

In this country the labor injunction has now been an issue in national and State politics for several decades. "Government by injunction" has been a familiar catchword, and considering the provocation it is a wonder that the talk has not been of "misgovernment by injunction." Naturally, during all this time a great deal has been written by labor leaders, lawyers, and editors upon the injunction. There was, for instance, the little book on the subject published several years ago by Mr. John P. Frey, presenting labor's point of view. It was apparent to all who thought on the subject that the labor injunction had become an abuse of an otherwise beneficent legal process. Originally a preventive writ to protect tangible private property from threatened irreparable injury, it had been transformed into an instrument of police in labor struggles. A large area of dispute has, however, remained as to the extent of its abuse through the issue of blanket injunctions, temporary ex parte orders, summary punishment for contempt without jury trial, and the like.

What do Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Nathan Greene now contribute toward a better comprehension and solution of the vexing problem? The labor injunction has usually been discussed with a great deal of passion. The great merit of the present work is that the subject is discussed with objectivity and restraint. If there is little in the material that is unfamiliar, it is at least presented with great order and clarity. The book is of the type called by scholars a systematization. It deals with the law of the injunction in the federal courts, and in New York and Massachusetts, selected as the two most important industrial States. It is particularly excellent as a legal case book. But in view of the highly controversial nature and the wide social and economic bearings of the problem of the injunction, it is very much to be doubted if that is enough. Of the two authors, Professor Frankfurter in particular would have led us to expect more. He is generally accounted a sociological jurist, but it would be more correct to regard him rather as one of the notable masters of the case method. It is his great public spirit and social interest that have made it difficult to detect the difference.

The weakness of the present work lies in its neglect of the sociology of the injunction. It has not a sufficiently wide orientation with the whole problem of law and labor. Considering that the injunction is usually discussed in a highly charged atmosphere, more exact analysis of many problems than the authors pursue would have been highly desirable. I say this although I am more than inclined to agree that their intuitions are in most respects not wide of the mark. But, after all, they do not have to convince those who have had no use for the injunction. Upon their own premises, they cannot expect much progress to be made against the injunction until more exact facts than are now available are substituted for conjectures, no matter how well founded. For instance, a very interesting question is the extent to which injunctions really are effective in curbing strike activities. It is often asserted that labor exaggerates the harshness of the injunction's effects. Are injunctive decrees obeyed when a labor union is powerful? The only light supplied is that which may be derived from the inconclusive statistics on the number of contempt proceedings in the federal courts and a scant few pages of opinion from variously qualified persons contained in two of the appendixes. Many similar questions press for better answers than they receive. What has been the history of industrial relations following the granting of injunctions? What is the correlation between the use of the injunction and yellow-dog contracts? Are injunctions used by employers as part of a planned and consistent program to disrupt union organizations by securing a series of interpretations of the laws unfavorable to labor? To what extent have the abuses of the injunction been due to the lack of skill of labor lawyers?

The data relating to injunctions in the federal courts have been examined with some degree of thoroughness and exactness. But similar data for New York and Massachusetts are not supplied, although it would have made possible a very important comparison between the incidence of the injunction in the State and federal courts. That the task was not an impossible one is proved, for instance, by the appearance of a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

study for New York in the *Political Science Quarterly* while the present work presumably was going through the press. It is called The Use of the Injunction in the New York Needle Trades and is by P. F. Brissenden and P. O. Swayzee. It appears therefrom that no less than 250 applications for injunctions have been made in the State courts in New York City alone since 1894 and that almost one-third of these were in the needle trades. Contrary to expectation, the figures for the number of temporary and permanent, ex parte and non-ex parte injunctions show that the State courts were no more moderate than the federal courts in their grants of injunctions, although presumably more subject to local labor influence. But whereas there were 104 motions for contempt in the 118 federal cases in the Frankfurter-Greene study, there were only 3 motions for contempt in 48 of the needle-trade cases. Was there greater obedience to the State injunctions, or did the local labor influence first make itself felt in preventing proceedings for contempt?

When it comes to proposing a remedial program the State courts are even more completely neglected. Professor Frankfurter and Mr. Greene occupy themselves exclusively in arguing in support of the pending Shipstead bill, which seeks to limit the jurisdiction of the federal courts in labor disputes. The bill has only now been reported out of a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee after lingering there for over two years. This sudden action is to be understood as an added protest against the confirmation of Judge Parker. One of the leading objects of the Shipstead bill is to declare yellow-dog contracts unenforcible in the federal courts although not illegal and void in themselves. This strange piece of casuistry is due to the fact that federal and State courts have declared legislation directly invalidating yellow-dog contracts unconstitutional. But it is fairly certain that the same fate awaits the measure now pending in Congress.

Such other provisions of the Shipstead bill as have a better chance of surviving the perils of unconstitutionality have too many loopholes. They constitute simply pious exhortations to the federal courts to grant injunctions upon less liberal terms than at present. The provisions aimed at curing the procedural abuses of the injunction are worth as little enthusiasm. There has grown up at Harvard in recent years what almost amounts to a school of proceduralists who have come to put more emphasis upon procedure than upon substantive law. It is true that it is idle to grant rights for which no adequate procedure of enforcement is provided. But where the situation fundamentally is one of no rights, procedural devices are not a great help. They only tend to perpetuate vicious substantive law by making it seemingly easier to bear. I have always, for instance, thought that the value of jury trials in injunctive contempt cases was greatly exaggerated. Juries, particularly in times of excitement, are no less ready to convict than judges whose economic bias they share.

In any event, the record of the courts is unfortunately not such as to lead to the expectation that they would not treat the procedural safeguards of the Shipstead bill in the same way as those of the Clayton Act. Certainly this is true if we are to have more judges like Hughes and Parker. In fact, my guess is that neither Professor Frankfurter nor Mr. Greene privately entertains any great illusions on this score but for reasons of policy is publicly hoping against hope. Otherwise, their faith in the Shipstead bill, considering their knowledge of the history of the Clayton Act, would be quite amazing. Moreover, even if the law were obeyed the pressure for injunctions would simply be transferred to the State courts, and the Brissenden-Swayzee study indicates certainly the ease with which they have been granted in one set of them. If the courts were ready to change their attitude they could even now remedy the procedural abuses of the injunction of their own motion, through their rule-making powers, without any necessity for legislation. The advantage of such internal reform would be that it could not be upset like legislation.

If our plutocracy ever weakens sufficiently in this country and labor achieves some real degree of political and economic power, the courts will begin to take heed, although even then our strait-jacket constitutionalism will prove a great obstacle. At present it is as hard to get rid of the injunction as it is to do away with prohibition. I am afraid that perhaps, after all, a fable for our English cousins is all that present realities make profitable. The injunction is America's great contribution to police history, having no counterpart in more realistic European countries, which are reduced to treating their workers with a direct and unpleasant brutality. Ours is the great country of mass production. It is natural that it should have given to the world an instrument of mass policing.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

Beethoven as Fiction Hero

Eroica: A Novel Based on the Life of Ludwig Van Beethoven. By Samuel Chotzinoff. Simon and Schuster. $2.50.

MR. CHOTZINOFF has contributed nothing to our understanding of Beethoven, which in view of the enormous literature on the man is not surprising. Yet the style alone of this spiritless novel would dampen any enthusiasm one might otherwise bring to it. Few indeed are the cliches, the stilted adjectives, and the periphrastic expressions that Mr. Chotzinoff has overlooked. Even the theory that he tried to adapt his manner to the period of the story does not account for the stiff and graceless prose. Beethoven lived in the radiant morning of romanticism, and this, we are told, is the way his musings ran:

> Though he was fully aware of the artificial gap between himself and the great ladies who circled so tantalizingly around him, he could not conceal from himself that their proximity afforded him a superior pleasure. In spite of his reason, which told him that he was in every way their equal, and in spite of his pride, which commanded him to spurn them as the pusillanimous creatures of a senseless tradition, he could not gainsay a secret longing for those whose nurtured beauty and perfumed refinement so violently contrasted with his own ungainly person.

There are many pages of this indirect discourse, tedious and insipid transcriptions of what Mr. Chotzinoff imagines Beethoven thought. Everyone knows that Beethoven was inarticulate in words—no man of his mentality ever wrote such disappointing letters—but he was surely not so fatuous a figure as this. When it comes to descriptions of music, wherein Mr. Chotzinoff should feel at home, one encounters some odd examples of unintended humor—the only kind in the book. The long passage in which the composer ruminates as he labors at the Eroica symphony has to be read to be believed.

Of the novelist's license to alter data Mr. Chotzinoff avails himself sparingly. For the most part, he keeps close to authenticated facts. Occasionally he ventures into fiction, as when he positively identifies the "immortal Beloved" as Giulietta Guicciardi, and when he insinuates that Beethoven's deafness had a luetic origin; both are hypotheses as yet unproved and probably unprovable. By omitting a mass of significant details with which the records supply him and relying instead upon a feeble fancy, he has failed to paint a lifelike character. He has not conveyed any perception of the elemental energy, the titanic quality of the man.

RAY C. B. BROWN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Simple Truth About the Tariff

This last and highest Protective Tariff Bill may soon be law, imposing higher costs of living on all of us. Protection is necessary and good for us. That's *the theory*. But what are *the facts*—the God's truth, about it? Between certain manufacturers who say Protection is needed to make and keep the country prosperous, and those who say a Protective Tariff is just a robbery and a fraud upon the masses for the benefit of privileged interests—which are right? Somewhere there must be an honest and searching examination of the matter and a conclusive answer:—

THERE IS. You will find a surprisingly lucid exposition of the whole subject in the great book

PROTECTION or FREE TRADE

By Henry George

Recent Printing *Cloth Bound* *One Dollar*

ROBERT SCHALKENBACH FOUNDATION
13 Park Place, New York City

for unforgettable impressions

VISIT SOVIET RUSSIA

Continental travel comforts

From Leningrad to Moscow and down the picturesque Volga to the Caucasus or the Crimea and Ukraine. Witness, at first hand the powerful drama of Communism on trial.

Interesting itineraries. Frequent sailings.

Write for Booklet "N"

Amalgamated Bank TRAVEL DEPT.
11-15 Union Square, New York City
or
Amalgamated Trust & Savings Bank
111 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

The Inward Vision

Midstream. By Helen Keller. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

TO her two autobiographical works, "The Story of My Life" and "The World I Live In," Helen Keller has now added "Midstream." It was, of course, impossible to expect that this volume would have the extraordinarily moving quality of the first revelation of this remarkable spirit. It was not possible to add much to the thrilling story of her conquest of the apparently insurmountable obstacles placed in her way by an unkind nature. But through this volume, too, there shines the unconquerable spirit, and the unquenchable determination to enjoy life and to utilize it as much as any normal person. Indeed, she has achieved far more than probably would have been her fate had she not been handicapped.

Perhaps the best thing about it all is that Miss Keller has come through to middle age a liberal in spirit. With the beauty of the outward world denied to her, she is not only free from bitterness and melancholy, but is most eager that the lot of all other human beings, advantaged or disadvantaged, should be more and more freed from the restraints of narrow conventionality and the heavy chains of our industrial civilization. The injustices of our society weigh heavily upon her. Where others in her situation might well feel free to think only of themselves, Miss Keller is ready by word and purse to serve at all times, to bear witness to the breadth and the wisdom of that inward vision of a better world than the one she has faced with such superb courage. In this volume she is generous to the many who have consciously and unconsciously been able to help her. But the best part is the renewed revelation of the completeness with which she has risen above self when every aspect of her situation might so easily have led her to center all her thinking upon herself and her own immediate interests. Among the books that tell of the victory of the human spirit over incredible odds this volume will have its place.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Books in Brief

Machine Made Man. By Silas Bent. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

Nowhere outside "The World Almanac" has a more numerous aggregation of facts on a wider variety of subjects directly and indirectly connected with the machine been brought together under one tent than Mr. Bent has assembled in this book. A good many of these facts, the reader will note, are so, though his confidence in the dependability of that vast number about which he knows nothing is likely to be a trifle shaken on discovering within seven pages of each other the fact that Walter R. Ingalls is "now recognized as the best authority" on wealth and income in the United States (a superlative distinction that Mr. Ingalls would certainly be too modest to claim) and the fact that Nicaragua is an island (the latter statement being doubtless a pure inadvertence). When he finds "Senator" Frear of Wisconsin hobnobbing with "President Hoover's National Bureau of Economic Research," however, and discovers on the same page that the reason we can't compute national income accurately from income-tax returns is because huge sums are invested in tax-exempt securities (rather than because only one-tenth of our income receivers are required under the law to report) he is too likely to begin wondering whether even omniscience itself may not sometimes be liable to error. What the facts, whatever they may be, mean, he will get not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the slightest idea, though he will perhaps gather from the conclusion that Mr. Bent is inclined to guess that maybe the machine may be all right, after all. Those who do not like the book may perhaps like Glintenkamp's woodcut illustrations.

Claude Monet: The Water Lilies. By Georges Clemenceau. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $3.

Clemenceau was undoubtedly prompted by a genuine feeling of friendship and admiration for Claude Monet when in his "last heavily burdened hours" he conceived the idea of writing a book about him. Unfortunately there is a wide gap between good intentions and ability to carry them out. The present volume is neither a biography nor an aesthetic treatise on impressionism. It is not even a collection of amusing anecdotes like Brousson's "Anatole France en pantoufles." Its few chapters, thrown together without order, teem with platitudinous opinions on genius, art, time, retinal sensitivity—opinions pronounced with the authority of a general or a commander-in-chief. Amid an annoying profusion of martial metaphors, Monet is treated incidentally, episodically. Barring irrelevancies, this is all we learn about him: he had a garden with a lily pond; he was a sedentary; he was scrupulously conscientious; he loved the fields, the flowers, the woods; and the idea of the Water Lilies obsessed him for years.

Infidels and Heretics. An Agnostic's Anthology. Edited by Clarence Darrow and Wallace Rice. The Stratford Company. $3.

Considering its avowedly unconventional purpose, this anthology turns out to be surprisingly like most other anthologies. It has a large proportion of pieces of prose and verse not to be found in other collections, but it also has a goodly number of old stand-bys. It contains some excellent things, and it also contains some extremely shoddy writing. Many agnostics will be pained by some of the selections, and good Christians will be horrified at finding some of their favorite writers represented. M. C. Otto is consistently referred to as M. C. Ott.

Films

Eisenstein's Latest

IF I tried to list the scenes that impressed me most in "Old and New" (Cameo), Eisenstein's remarkable sermon on the advantages of collective farming, I should be inclined to select these: the pathetic figures of a man and a woman pulling a harrow for lack of a horse; the enormous mass of smooth and glistening human flesh displayed by the kulak couple; the "juicy" portraits of priests praying for rain, interspersed for sardonic contrast with close-ups of a bleating sheep; the wheat fields swept by wind; the gorgeous stud bulls with their quivering bulk. All these may be described as portrait studies, here and there reminiscent of such Russian painters as Ryepin, Kustodiyev, and Perov, but conceived dynamically and not as "still" pictures, and brimful of characteristic detail. Perhaps it will be even no exaggeration to say that "Old and New" resolves itself largely into a series of marvelously executed cinematic portraits of men, beasts, and machines, portraits observed with a revealing penetration and the precision of a master, but strung together on a thread of narrative that carries with it no particular appeal either to the mind or to the heart. The picture was of course made primarily for the Russian peasant, as part of the campaign to carry the "general line" of the Communist

"A Most Notable American"

JOHNSON OF THE MOHAWKS

A Biography by ARTHUR POUND
In Collaboration with Richard E. Day

Among pre-Revolutionary figures Sir William Johnson stands out as one of the remarkable men of his day. Coming to America as an Irish immigrant, he became a frontier trader, bought his first wife and later married two Indian maids, became a Mohawk war chief, was made a baronet, and amassed the largest fortune of his time. He was an empire builder and his work in opening the way to the west was vital to the spread of colonization along the Mohawk trail. His curious and exciting life is spread on these pages with unusual distinction. *Illustrated* $5.00

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY — NEW YORK

. . . do Communist strikes increase workers' wages?

REDS AND LOST WAGES

By Charles G. Wood

Commissioner of Conciliation, U. S. Department of Labor

The first inside, close-up story of what "red" labor activities have meant to labor, of how the Communists work in industry, of the activities that have fostered their influence, and of how progressive employers are fostering strikes and unrest.

The author from intimate knowledge of hundreds of strikes—in Brooklyn, Gastonia, Passaic, Brockton, etc.—gives the most vivid, readable account of actual labor conditions today which has yet appeared.

"An absorbing first-hand account of the evil influence of Communist groups in labor agitation during recent years."—*Boston Herald.*

Price $4.00

FREE EXAMINATION COUPON N5

HARPER & BROTHERS,
49 E. 33rd St., New York.

Send me a copy of *Reds and Lost Wages*—$4.00

☐ I will remit $4 in 10 days or return book.
☐ Check for $4 is enclosed.
☐ Send C. O. D.

Name .....
Address .....
.....
Business Connection .....
(Please fill in)

Sent on approval only in U.S. and Canada.

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The First Volume

of a group of lives of American Political Leaders, edited by ALLAN NEVINS.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES
STATESMAN OF REUNION
By H. J. ECKENRODE

"A fascinating biography, scholarly, brilliant, entertaining and illuminating." — CLAUDE BOWERS.

"An excellent book, interesting and convincing, sane and balanced."—JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. Illustrated. $5.00

LOOK TO THE EAST
By FREDERICK PALMER

A provocative book on the situation in the Far East today with a forecast of coming events. Illustrated. $3.00

A HISTORY OF MUSIC
By GRACE GRIDLEY WILM

A complete survey, with especial evaluation of modern music and composers. Significant works of many composers interpreted. $3.00

THE THING: Why I Am a Catholic
By G. K. CHESTERTON

A spirited discussion of present day philosophies and religions, with nimble counter thrusts at Dean Inge's Protestantism, Clarence Darrow's cynicism and the creed of Mencken. 2nd printing. $2.50

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY, NEW YORK

THE MEMOIRS OF THE COMTE DE GRAMONT

By Anthony Hamilton

The Comte De Gramont was the Casanova of King Charles II's court—an eminent distinction in a circle of rakes like Buckingham and Rochester. His memoirs read like a novel; are ten times more entertaining—and true in the bargain. He gives a brilliant picture of the gay life at the Court of King Charles, where good taste and good manners were more important than good morals. $5.00

E. P. DUTTON & CO., Inc., 300 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.

SUMMER

Are Your Plans Completed?

Have you found a Summer Home?
Do you want to Rent your Town Home?

See pages 584 and iii

If there isn't anything there to help you
Send us your Requirements—There is no time to Lose.

30 words - $3.08
60 words - 6.16

The Nation 20 Vesey Street FITzroy 9074

policy into the village. It is therefore not to be expected that the demonstration, however ingeniously conceived, of a cream separator or a tractor would be found equally impressive by an American audience. But with all due allowance for this difference, it is still doubtful whether "Old and New" is capable of converting anybody to its message; and the fault, I think, does not lie with the message. Regarded merely as an argument for collective farming, the picture quite obviously takes too many things for granted. On the other hand, as a story of a successful struggle for such a collective farm, it is too tame and schematic in its dramatic development to make one thrill in sympathetic response.

This is not to say that the picture does not contain a number of highly effective and original scenes. The episode of the "wedding" between a stud bull and a common cow as the village bride is extremely amusing, not to say exciting; so, too, is the race between the tractor and the village carts, with the delightful interlude when the driver of the tractor, to mend his engine, helps himself to the proffered skirt of a woman enthusiast. But it does seem to me that Eisenstein's preoccupation with conveying ideas by means of a specially developed "cinematic language" is inevitably leading him into a blind alley, for it excludes the purely sensual and emotional appeal of the structural foundation of the motion picture—its rhythmic and dramatic progression. His "Potemkin" undoubtedly gained its success because of the stress laid on its dramatic and dynamic structure, elementary as this still was in its case. But "Ten Days That Shook the World" was a step away from synthesis to analysis, from a unified dynamic pattern to a series of loosely related descriptive episodes. And "Old and New" is a still further and even more disintegrating step in the same direction.

Commendable intelligence, inventiveness, and taste mark "Paramount on Parade" (Rialto), unquestionably the best screen revue that has been seen on Broadway. And having taken two years to overcome sheer ignorance and cretinism, it is to be hoped that in another two years Hollywood will show us a real *cinematic* revue which will use to the full extent the powers of expression inherent in the camera, the microphone, the film record, and the screen—in other words, to cite a contrary example, a screen musical play totally unlike "Hold Everything" (Hollywood), which has amusing gags but very little else.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

Drama

Miss Le Gallienne's Juliet

SEVERAL months ago I expressed the wish that Miss Le Gallienne would add to her repertory some play written in a major key. She had given us much pathos and not a little sentiment, but the more familiar one became with her enterprise the more conspicuous was the absence of both genuine tragedy and genuine comedy. Her most striking successes as well as her relative failures had been all too much of a kind. A certain languishing, elegiac mood seemed to brood over the auditorium, and served to make one realize that her theater must succeed in breaking that spell if it were to become what it obviously aspired to be—a place where one might have an opportunity to see representative examples of all the kinds of excellence which dramatic literature affords.

Apparently Miss Le Gallienne herself recognized the danger, for she has just added to her repertory a production of "Romeo and Juliet," and that production turns out to be a triumphantly successful gesture in exactly the right direction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

□ FILMS □ PLAYS □

CIVIC REPERTORY 14th St.—6th Ave. Evenings, 8:30
50c, $1, $1.50. Matinees Thursdays and Saturdays, 2:30.
EVA LE GALLIENNE, Director
Thurs. Mat., May 8, "Romeo and Juliet;" Thurs. Eve., May 8, "The Living Corpse;" Fri. Eve., May 9, "Romeo and Juliet;" Sat. Mat., May 10, "Peter Pan;" Sat. Eve., May 10, "The Living Corpse;" Mon. Eve., May 12, "Romeo and Juliet;" Tues. Eve., May 13, "The Living Corpse;" Wed. Eve., May 14, "Romeo and Juliet."
Seats 4 weeks in advance at Box Office & Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St.

HERMAN SHUMLIN presents
THE LAST MILE
"Must remain the last word in drama for a long time to come."—Benchley, *New Yorker.*
SAM H. HARRIS Theatre, 42nd St., West of Broadway. Evgs. 8:50. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30.

The Theatre Guild Presents
HOTEL UNIVERSE
A NEW PLAY By PHILIP BARRY
MARTIN BECK Theatre, 45th St., W. of Eighth Ave. Evgs., 8:50. Mats., Thurs. & Sat., 2:50

A MONTH IN THE COUNTRY
By IVAN TURGENEV
Guild THEATRE, 52nd St., W. of Broadway Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30.

The Apple Cart
Bernard Shaw's Political Extravaganza
LAST WEEK
ALVIN THEATRE, 52nd St., W. of Broadway. Evgs., 8:30. Mats., Wed. & Sat., 2:30

REVEALING THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW LIFE IN SOVIET RUSSIA
"Old AND New"
(THE STRUGGLE FOR SOIL)
DIRECTED BY EISENSTEIN CREATOR OF "POTEMKIN" and "TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD"
Now Playing RKO CAMEO 42d St. & B'way. POPULAR PRICES

TIFFANY presents "JOURNEY'S END"
The all-talking screen version of R. C. Sherriff's World-Famed Play with a powerful cast headed by COLIN CLIVE, creator of the stage role of Captain Stanhope.
GAIETY THEATRE, B'way & 46th St. Twice Daily, 2:45—8:45.
3 times Sat., Sun. & Holidays 2:45—5:45—8:45.
Midnight Show Every Saturday Night.
Seats selling 4 weeks ahead.

WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT

Plays to See

†A Month in the Country—Guild—52nd St., W. of B'dway.
†Apple Cart—Alvin—52nd St., W. of B'dway.
*Civic Repertory—14th St., W. of Sixth Ave.—See Advertisement.
‡Flying High—Apollo—W. 42nd St.
*Hotel Universe—Beck—45th St., E. of Eighth Ave.
‡Jonica—Craig—54th St., E. of B'dway.
*The Green Pastures—Mansfield—47th St., W. of B'dway.
*The Last Mile—Sam H. Harris—42nd St., W. of B'dway.
†Topaze—Music Box—45th St., W. of B'dway.
*Uncle Vanya—Cort—W. 48th St.

Films

All Quiet on the Western Front—Central—47th St. and B'dway.
Bishop Murder Case—Beg. May 9; Mary Ann—Beg. May 13—Little Picture House—50th St., E. of Lexington Ave.
Dark Red Roses—Beg. May 10—Film Guild—52 W. Eighth St.
Journey's End—Gaiety—46th St. and B'dway.
Love Parade—Beg. May 10; Song of the West—Beg. May 14—Plaza—58th St., E. of Madison Ave.
Old and New—Cameo—42nd St. and B'dway.
Song of the Flame—Warner—B'dway and 52nd St.
Such Men Are Dangerous—Beg. May 10; Sally—Beg. May 14—Little Carnegie—146 W. 57th St.

Lectures

"Humanism"—Harry Hansen, Chairman, Irving Babbitt, Henry Seidel Canby, Carl Van Doren—Carnegie Hall—Fri. Eve., May 9—Auspices, Discussion Guild.

*Drama. †Comedy. ‡Musical.

"MIGHTIEST WAR DRAMA EVER SEEN"
—*N. Y. American.*
"All Quiet on the Western Front"
A Universal Picture presented by Carl Laemmle
Directed by Lewis Milestone
"A notable achievement, sincere, earnest, vivid and graphic. Better than anything so far done."—Mordaunt Hall, *N. Y. Times.*
"Enormously compelling talking motion picture. As a show something to get definitely excited about! A very fine motion picture."—Howard Barnes, *Herald Tribune.*
CENTRAL THEATRE, B'dway and 47th Street Twice Daily: 2:45—8:45. 3 times Sat. & Sun., 2:45—5:45—8:45.

Irving Babbitt says YES — Henry Seidel Canby says YES! BUT — Carl Van Doren says NO
in the controversy over HUMANISM, will it succeed?
CARNEGIE HALL this Fri. Eve., May 9, at 8:45.
Tickets: box office—Rand School—Columbia U Book Store.
Discussion Guild—R 1002, 15 E. 40th St. Lex. 7483. Open to 8:30

Honey-Maid Chocolates
Made from Pure Clover Honey and are Less-Fattening.
THE NEW STRATTON PACKAGE—$1.50
Wide variety of tempting delicacies.
Mail orders filled promptly
THE ALBERT N. DUKER ORGANIZATION
140 William St. New York

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Social Forces in Social Work

The trained social worker regards the individual, family and community he serves as centers of convergence of racial, religious, economic and other social forces which hark back to the past and must be utilized to fashion the future. This view is especially important if the worker's field lies in such a highly distinctive group as the Jews.

College graduates should examine carefully the advantages, both tangible and intangible, of

Jewish Social Work as a Profession

May 9 is the last date for filing application for fellowships of $750 and $1000

For full information write to
M. J. Karpf, *Director*

The Training School For Jewish Social Work

A Graduate School

67-71 W. 47th St., New York City

LABOR'S NEWS

He is a college instructor. He wrote Federated Press, labor's news service, and we take the liberty of quoting from his letter:

"I want a news magazine about the labor movement. A paper that surveys, condenses and makes readable the news about the trade unions, the A. F. of L., the Communists, Socialists, progressives, farmers, that I can't get in the other magazines or newspapers. You can't afford in these days not to know of the social ferment among America's 30,000,000 workers.

"I take several labor papers but each one is devoted to grinding its own ax. I don't object to that; but I find it impossible to get a clear, authoritative, unbiased picture of what labor is doing and planning. Federated Press, as labor's news service, is in a position to publish such a news magazine. Why don't you?"

That was a year ago. LABOR'S NEWS was the answer to this intelligent American, as it has been to thousands of others. Written by 60 correspondents in every industrial center of the land, LABOR'S NEWS brings you each week in eight concise pages the news of America's 30,000,000, otherwise unreported. No long articles, no windy dissertations, no airing of theories and dogmas! Just news—the news of all groups in the labor movement—authoritative, comprehensive, yet condensed to the marrow and vividly written.

THE FEDERATED PRESS
112 E. 19th St.
New York, N. Y.

☐ $2 for 1 year
☐ $1 for 6 months
☐ Send me a sample copy free

Here's a dollar bill for six months of LABOR'S NEWS.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

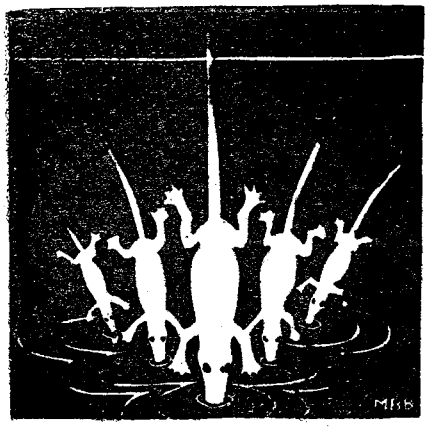
Much thought has evidently gone into it and, in all probability, not a little trepidation as well; but the question which must have troubled her other admirers as much as it troubled me is answered. Miss Le Gallienne's talents as actor and director are *not* limited by the circle within which she has hitherto chosen to move. Her "Romeo and Juliet" is conspicuously fine and satisfying. It is, indeed, one of the best things achieved at her theater, as well as one of the best performances of that particular tragedy seen in New York for many years.

In the first place, the pace of the play is swift and right. It begins with the briskly staged scene of the street brawl between Capulets and Montagues, and it takes its spirit from the spirit of that scene—conceiving the whole story to be one which grows out of the quick tempers and the hot blood of these citizens of Verona. Over all too many versions of the tragedy hangs the cloud of a sentimental misconception of Shakespeare. Juliet is made languishing, merely romantic, and not a little syrupy. But Miss Le Gallienne has had the good sense to realize that this heroine is not "cute" and that the love between her and Romeo, however lyrical it may be, is no Schwärmerei. The blood that runs in Tybalt's veins runs in Juliet's too. She is quick, resolute, and, in her own way, fierce as well. Being a woman she is not supposed to revel and stab, but she is ready in an instant to throw caution and propriety to the winds, defying her father and meeting Romeo in the moonlight. Obviously she is no model maiden, and obviously the story of her love for Romeo is no story to put alongside the more edifying tales of ladies who, for love, pined meekly away. She is even more conspicuously great than she is good; she dies defiant and protesting, as a really tragic heroine should. Perhaps there is little reason in the passion which springs up between her and Romeo, but there is a good deal more than sentiment. Their story is the story of a flame kindled amidst tinder, burning fiercely for a brief time and then extinguished. And it is in the spirit of such a story that Miss Le Gallienne and her company play it. Her Juliet is young in experience but mature in feeling. She is, to be sure, no Cleopatra; but she is no less far from being a Miranda, a Perdita, or an Ophelia. The whole production is, moreover, almost as satisfactory in detail as it is sound in fundamental conception. The first scene particularly, with its blank blue wall penetrated by a single flight of stairs, is admirable in its suggestion of a painting by one of the primitives; and if Donald Cameron's Romeo is not so good as Miss Le Gallienne's Juliet, it is at least extremely creditable, while J. Edward Bromberg is not less than superb in the death of Mercutio.

"Romeo and Juliet" belongs, no doubt, in a different category from that in which the other great tragedies of Shakespeare are placed. It broods over no philosophical problem and it has, properly speaking, no villain. Calamity comes to its chief characters largely as the result of unfortunate chance, and their catastrophe does not, like the catastrophe which overtakes Lear or Othello, imply any great malignant or evil principle in the universe at large. In part because of that fact, and in part because its heroes are allowed to achieve their destiny—to love as fully as they would ever be able to love—the play might almost be called a happy, as it is certainly a joyous, thing. It has only one purpose: to exhibit love as love seems to lovers, and it is odd that the only other play of Shakespeare's which is believed to have been written in the same year should be that "Midsummer-Night's Dream" in which the same passion is viewed with the mockery of a philosopher. Is it possible that he had both works in mind when he put into the mouth of Friar Laurence a strange but profound observation: "For Nature's tears are Reason's merriment"? Was the one play intended to move "Nature's tears" and the other to evoke "Reason's merriment"?

Joseph Wood Krutch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A New Uncle Remus for Grown-ups

"There can be no doubt," says Du Bose Heyward, author of *Porgy*, "that these stories of the South Carolina coast negroes will take their place beside the Georgia legends of Joel Chandler Harris, for they possess to an extraordinary degree the inimitable and imaginative character of the race." Here is a new *Uncle Remus* for grown-ups which will bring you delight. *Fetchingly Illustrated* $3.50

BLACK GENESIS

By SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY and GERTRUDE MATHEWS SHELBY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY ~ NEW YORK

"The finest study of life under the Soviets that has yet been published."— New York World

SOVIET RUSSIA:

A Living Record and A History

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

Correspondent in Russia for the Christian Science Monitor

"An intelligent, balanced understanding of what is going on, supported by the historical background of the Revolution and the Communist movement. One of the best reference books on the achievements of the Soviets."—*Oswald Garrison Villard in The Nation.*

An Atlantic Book
With 16 illustrations
$5.00 at all Booksellers

LITTLE, BROWN & CO.
Publishers, Boston

THE WORLD TOURISTS, INC., announces the 2nd Cultural Tour to Soviet Russia under the leadership of Dr. Joshua M. Kunitz, Lecturer on Russian Literature and Culture in the College of the City of New York, and author of a number of widely read studies on Soviet Russia.

Professor Kunitz' record in this field of activity marks him eminently qualified to conduct a tour through the U.S.S.R.

In 1929 Dr. Kunitz conducted the cultural tour for the World Tourists, Inc., to the complete satisfaction of every member of the Group.

In 1928 he was a member of the now historic Professor John Dewey Delegation of American Educators. Every member of that delegation will subscribe to the statement that his exceptional appreciation of what was taking place in the New Russia, plus his understanding of the historic background, and the temperament of the people, was an important factor for the success of the delegation.

The tour can be taken for 12, 24, or 35 days. Special attractive booklet containing rates, itineraries, etc., will be gladly mailed. An early reservation is earnestly suggested as the group will of necessity be limited.

WORLD TOURISTS, Inc.
175 Fifth Avenue ALGonquin 6656

Visits to Soviet Russia

Two Weeks—Moscow, Leningrad. Sailings from **New York**—June 3, July 24, August 14. Price from **New York**—$533; from German port—$332; from **Helsingfors**—$299. **Registrations open.**

Twenty Days in the Soviet Union—Leningrad, the Volga. Sailing from **New York** June 18, July 5. Price from **New York**—$635; from German port—$432; from **Helsingfors**—$401. **Registrations open.**

Twenty-three Days in the Soviet Union—Leningrad, Moscow, the Crimea, Ukraine. Sailing from **New York** June 18. Price from **New York**—$665; from German port—$462; from **Helsingfors**—$431. **Registrations open.**

Thirty-six Days in the Soviet Union—Leningrad, Moscow, the Volga, Caucasus, Crimea, the Ukraine. Sailing from **New York** June 24. Price from **New York**—$895; from German port—$694; from **Helsingfors**—$661. **Registrations open.**

Additional itineraries and sailings. Parties of eight plus American leader. **Special student parties at low rates.**

20-30 WEST 43rd STREET ▲ NEW YORK

THE OPEN ROAD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Health Insurance in Austria

By Dr. ERNST KULKA

Vienna, April 24

IN the years following the war a series of laws were passed under the influence of the rising power of the Socialists requiring that every salaried worker be insured for medical treatment by what was known here as a Krankenkasse. Employer and employee were to share the expense; there were no exceptions: every servant girl, bellhop, government official, or bank director who received a salary was to be provided for. Up to that time there had been movements in that direction, especially among the laboring classes, and white-collar workers had made some provision for themselves in the form of benefit associations organized by private initiative. There had also been a workmen's compensation law, and in 1920 an unemployment insurance act. These various insurances were now incorporated into a special body of laws, and comprised the first experiment in health insurance on a grand scale. The original purpose was to protect the working classes from disease, but modifications subsequently ensued, so that lately every manufacturer and storekeeper is insured as well. At present in Vienna 78 per cent of the population is insured. No provision has yet been made for independent peasant farmers. In all Austria somewhat more than 60 per cent of the poulation belongs to a Krankenkasse.

All forms of insurance are paid for together in one premium amounting to 15 per cent of the total salary (though a maximum is fixed). Of this, employer and employee each pays 7½ per cent. The sum is divided among the different benefits as follows: pension and accident insurance, 6 per cent; unemployment, 4½ per cent; and health insurance, 4½ per cent. The average worker's salary in Vienna at present runs from four to ten dollars a week. A visit to a doctor would cost about seventy-five cents, a day at a hospital about a dollar and a half. The average worker pays then about fifteen dollars a year, or enough for twenty consultations with a physician or ten days at a hospital.

The insurance companies are private but under governmental control. Before the war there were more insurance companies than there are now. The collapse of the monarchy brought almost all of them to ruin and they were consolidated into a few large organizations. The latest law with regard to these companies (1926) distinguishes only two types: those with a purely geographical distribution, comprising a single system of forty-five units divided over as many sections; and those with an industrial distribution in the separate trade organizations. The geographical group is the original Krankenkasse as pictured by the originators of the system, and is socialistic in its political affiliations. The industrial companies are politically conservative and represent the conservative answer to the Socialists. The few surviving small benefit associations are doomed to disappear, and no new ones may be created. There are thus two large companies or systems, both private in the eyes of the law, but actually in interlocking contact with the two main parties.

Aside from accident, invalid, and old-age insurance, the Krankenkasse in Austria has a more peculiar function: the provision of *all* the medical needs of its members. It may do this in two ways. The less frequent way, practiced by a few benefit associations, is to allow each member a fixed sum depending on the disease he has and the attention he needs. With this sum he can do as he likes, paying the difference if he has expensive tastes. Only about 5 per cent of the insurance comes in this class. The other and more general procedure is to provide directly for the patient's needs, paying the doctor and druggist from the treasury of the Krankenkasse, but at the same time to limit the patient's freedom of choice. The companies with geographic distribution have their own physicians distributed over separate districts and each patient must be treated by the physician in his neighborhood. The physician, for his part, may prescribe drugs only from the official Krankenkasse formulary and the druggist is compensated at fixed rates arranged by contract in advance. Under this system each district physician receives a fixed salary (at present about fifteen dollars a week) and has the right to private practice in addition. The physicians are, however, much overworked and sometimes meet fifty or more patients a day in addition to their private practice. The patients often feel neglected, and balk at being compelled to visit this one doctor. As a result, there is often neither sympathy nor trust in the relation.

The trade-union insurance companies permit their members to choose their own physician from a long list of doctors under contract. These physicians are given no fixed salary but are paid by the visit; any physician who agrees to the stipulations may register. The remuneration is small, but economic stress has obliged the majority of physicians to enrol. The patient has the right to treatment by a specialist if necessary and to operation or hospital treatment, all bills being paid by the Kasse. This last system is an improvement on the other in so far as it permits the patient to be treated by a physician he trusts, while the doctor for his part does all he can for his patient if only for his own material ends. But it is precisely this that endangers the entire system. Under the district-physician system the doctor had every incentive to cure his case as soon as possible. He was furthermore totally objective in his advice and recommended drugs, pensions, and vacations only when they were necessary. From the point of view of the Krankenkasse this was ideal, and the same conscientious deportment was expected from physicians under the other system. And in fact most doctors were trustworthy. The result was that certain patients went from doctor to doctor until they finally found one who would give them what they wanted. What resulted was a sort of conspiracy between a certain doctor and a certain patient that cost the Kasse a fortune but gave the doctor a fat income and the patient a pension or a vacation. The honest doctor consequently lost clients, the Kasse grew poorer, and honest patients suffered indirectly from lack of funds.

If one examines the question impartially one cannot help feeling that under this system, because of the elaborate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

machinery of operation, too small a proportion of the money goes for health. A new plan of health saving is therefore being proposed. Under this plan a part of the salary would be put aside. It would remain the property of the original owner, but only in case of sickness could the money be withdrawn. When a certain fixed sum had been reached and when a person had attained a certain age (to be statistically adjusted) the money would be returned as a pension. In case of death the residue would go in part to the legal heirs and in part to a general sinking fund. This sinking fund would be employed for use as loans without interest for cases of lengthy disability and operations. In case of permanent disability a regular pension would be awarded; in all other cases the loan would be slowly repaid.

A RARE COMBINATION

In food is Tastiness, Purity, Wholesomeness and full-balanced Nourishment.

This rare combination you find at our up-to-date and cozy Health Foods Luncheonette, where appetizing and amply satisfying meals of freshest and unprocessed foodstuffs are sold and served at all hours and every day of the week, including Sundays—and at most moderate prices.

Try us once, and you will be certain to bring your friends to our place to dine abundantly.

HEALTH FOODS DISTRIBUTORS

45-N East 34th St., N. Y. City
(Between Park and Madison Aves.)
Phones: Lexington 6926—Ashland 6366

NORMAN THOMAS

In The New Leader

Every Week on

"Timely Topics"

Other Regular Contributors Include

McAlister Coleman — Morris Hillquit — James Oneal
Emil Vandervelde — Louis Stanley — A. J. Muste
Harry W. Laidler — H. N. Brailsford — Art Young

THE NEW LEADER

The Journal of Socialism and Labor

$2 for a year
$1 for 6 months

7 East 15th St.,
New York City

(Sample Copies Free on Request)

□ LECTURE □

INGERSOLL FORUM
Sundays, 8 P. M. Pythian Temple
135 W. 70th St. Admission, 25c.
May 11th: Dr. George B. Vetter
"The Psychological Origins of Religion."
For FREE book catalogue and Atheist tracts, write:
Am. Assn. for the Adv. of Atheism,
307 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y.

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP
Invites You To Attend Its
SPRING FESTIVAL
Entertainment and Dance
On Tuesday Evening, May 13th at 8:30 P.M.
At Ball Room—150 West 85th St.
Dancing until 1 A.M. Admission $1.00
Weekly notices mailed on request.

BALL

Whoops my dear!

NEW YORK'S WILDEST AND FUNNIEST PARTY

CONTINENTAL COSTUME BALL

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

Saturday Night, May 17th

Music By **RUDY VALLEE'S VAGABONDS**

Tickets at Garden box office and agencies

Whoops my dear!

POSITIONS WANTED

WOMAN, thirty, by profession a teacher of art, creative writing, desires entertaining and lucrative summer position. Box 2382, % *The Nation.*

BARNARD College senior, planning trip abroad early June, wishes to earn passage, as chaperon, companion—adult or child; excellent sailor; references. Box 2379, % *The Nation.*

YOUNG LADY—23; secretary-companion to European traveler this summer; college graduate, expert stenographer, bookkeeper, typist, teacher; intelligent, capable, alert; services exchanged for traveling expenses. P. O. Box 367, Waterbury, Conn.

YOUNG LADY, British University graduate, desires position as tutor or companion; had long residence in France and Germany; interested in art and literary movements; degrees recognized in America. Phone Sterling 4553, or Box 2416, % *The Nation.*

GERMAN WOODWORKER—65; strong, active, also handy in garden or farm, desires work in country or city at moderate pay. A. Horn, 421 Buffalo Ave., Paterson, N. J.

COLLEGE graduate, newspaper and publicity experience; expert stenographer, typist, seeks part time position. Box 2410, % *The Nation.*

ATTORNEY—31; enterprising; able; intelligent, in private practice; seeks part-time employment. Box 2411, % *The Nation.*

YOUNG LADY—Intelligent; wishes work two or three evenings during week; even ushering. Box 2413, % *The Nation.*

COLLEGE Instructor in English, male, 27, M.A., small New England college, wants summer work. Tutoring and secretarial experience. Willing to go anywhere. Box 2418, % *The Nation.*

INTELLIGENT young man, well educated, seeks connection interesting form of work. Five years' secretarial experience. Especially equipped for meeting people, directing group work and speaking. Have and will travel extensively. Any offer acceptable. Box 2420, % *The Nation.*

□ EDUCATIONAL □

PLAYWRITING AT N.U.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Classes in playwriting, playshop production for promising mss., walking rehearsals, etc. Competitive scholarships available. For catalog write:
THE DEAN, School of Speech and Theatre Arts, Evanston, Illinois.

FIVE LANGUAGES IN ONE

French-Spanish-German-Italian-English. Containing 5,000 practical words attractively arranged. Limited supply. $1.50. Order today. Universal Institute, 1263 Lexington Ave., New York.

LANGUAGES

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN, GERMAN, ENGLISH

Conversational method. Native teachers. Private lessons, 75c, short course, 9 to 9 daily. 18th year.

FISHER'S SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1264 Lexington Avenue, N. W. Cor. 85th Street

FRENCH-SPANISH-ITALIAN

GERMAN. Private lessons 75c (Daily 9-9). Native teachers. Interesting conversational method. 19th year. Also neglected English education.
UNIVERSAL SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
1265 Lexington Ave., Northeast Cor. 85th St.

HELP WANTED

WANTED, a man to give some time evenings and week ends to children in exchange for room and board. Opportunity to do student teaching if desired or to have experience in shop and craft work. Box 2417, % *The Nation.*

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR RENT

FURNISHED APARTMENTS

GRAMERCY PARK—Studio apartment; two rooms, bath, kitchenette; completely furnished; grand piano. Sublet June 1 to October 1, $100. Telephone Gramercy 3168.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS — Beautiful 3-room apartment; kitchen; Northern and Southern exposure; spacious and airy rooms; 2 fireplaces; books, phone, bath, shower. Reasonable. June to October. Rheingold, 118 Pierrepont Street. Main 7388.

ATTRACTIVELY furnished 4-room apartment to sublease for summer; light, cool, every modern convenience; radio; fully equipped kitchen; large double bedroom; good closets; one small bedroom; large living room. Reasonable. Mrs. M. C. Hubbard, 567 West End Ave. Schuyler 7916.

SUBLET, furnished, 5 rooms, 2 baths, modern, elevator, piano; one-half block Museum, Prospect Park; all subways. No reasonable offer refused. 284 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y., Apt. 5D. Nevins 2335.

TO SUB-LEASE—Artistically furnished, large studio living room; Gramercy section; three windows facing street; unusually high ceiling; fireplace, kitchenette, bathroom, glass enclosed shower. Immediate occupancy. Reasonable rental. Spring 7228.

SUBLET, summer rate, two or three well-furnished rooms, large, quiet, cool, real kitchen, bath. Piano, radio. Convenient for travel. Mrs. Mailly, 110 East 16th St. Stuyvesant 1651. Call after five.

UNFURNISHED APTS.

UNFURNISHED APARTMENT — Brooklyn Heights—Entire top floor; four rooms, bath, fireplace; $65. Cook, 174 State St., Main 6821.

5TH AVE. AND 13TH ST.—Apartments 1 and 2 rooms; some sleeping balconies and wood-burning open fireplaces; large airy sunny rooms; low rentals for choice tenants. Adart Realty Corp., 1 E. 28th St. Ashland 5992.

FURNISHED OR UNFURNISHED

70TH St. East. (962 Lexington Ave.)—2 rooms with outside windows, bath, small kitchen. Right near the Park. Furnished or unfurnished. $65. June to October, or longer. Butterfield 7585 evenings.

SHARE APARTMENT

WISH TO SHARE MY CHARMINGLY FURNISHED 3-ROOM APARTMENT, WITH ANOTHER YOUNG LADY; ALL PRIVILEGES; THIRTY DOLLARS MONTHLY. ANNE GOODWIN, 1701 EASTBURN AVE., BRONX, MT. EDEN STATION.

ATTENTION!—WANTED

OWNERS of adult or children's camps, or owners of acreage adjoining lake, located within 40 miles of N. Y. C., with land for improvement; communicate with writer for excellent proposition. Box 2415, % *The Nation.*

WANTED—Oct. to June, 1931, furnished small house or terraced apartment. Essentials—charm, large living room, fireplace, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, kitchen. Gramercy Park to the 70's, East. Gramercy 0019.

Another Advertiser Writes in—

Advertising Manager,
The Nation.

Dear Sir:

I have had an excellent response from my ad. Will you please cancel it, as I have rented my place.

G. L. C.

SUMMER

CHILDREN'S CAMPS AND GROUPS

LILLIPUT

A successful new idea—
a camp for 4 to 10 year olds

A lovely house in ideal surroundings, accessible from New York. The entire staff is trained and experienced in the guidance of small children. Resident physician; trained nurse. Highly endorsed by educators and parents. Group limited to 40. **Booklet. Anne Josephson, 1880 University Ave., N. Y. (Raymond 4145).**

Combines advantages of home, camp and school.

Unusual Opportunity
CAMP MURMIN
PEEKSKILL, N. Y.

Limited to 12 five-to-ten year olds; under direction of teacher-mother-dietician; competent councillors; individual attention; no overstimulation; real house. Write for booklet.

Mr. and Mrs. MURRAY E. LEVINE
2321 Andrews Avenue New York City
Phone: SEDgwick 9563

CAMP ALADDIN, Blackhall, Conn. Parents engaged in arts and professions can place their young children in a charming environment and assure them of the companionship of people who stress educational ideals rather than a profit making scheme. $200 for the summer. Rook McCulloch, Director, 407 Washington Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

CHILD Psychologist of rare tact and understanding; highly trained in this country and Vienna; will take a few girls to the country for the summer. Scientific and medical attention and care. Reports and recommendations. Box 2414, % *The Nation.*

SCHOOLS

HESSIAN HILLS SCHOOL

A modern country school for boys and girls, nursery through first year high school, day and boarding.

CROTON ON HUDSON
NEW YORK

SONAQUA CLUB
Lake Mohegan, N. Y.

The Haven for Sport Lovers. Ideal for recreation and relaxation. Convenient for week-ends. Only 45 miles from New York.

Sports Tennis, Boating, Swimming, Dancing. Special feature program for Decoration Day Weekend.

For reservations call Peekskill 1276

Rieber's Cottage, Belle Harbor, L. I.

50 feet from Beach and Boardwalk. For complete relaxation, invigorating sea air. Modern accommodations; excellent home cooking. Forty minutes from city. $25 per week until July 1st. Call Belle Harbor 0089.

SPEND delightful summer in Virginia. Off tourist route. Large colonial estate in Shenandoah Valley. Privacy. Best of Southern cooking. Seven hours to City. Free golf. $10 to $15 weekly. Major Marshall MacDonald, Media Farm, CHARLES TOWN, W. Va.

FOR relaxation, beautiful country and pleasant companionship; phone to
The HIL-BERT HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y.
HIL FRIEDBERG, Prop. Tel. Mahopac 353

ZINDOREST PARK, Monroe, N. Y.

SPEND your vacation or week-end at our wonderful 150 acre estate. It must be seen to be appreciated. 1½ hours on the Erie or Route 17. Phone 122-F-3.

SUMMER HOME FOR SALE OR RENT

ON shore beautiful Lake Oscawana, 22 minutes from Peekskill Station, large 8 room house with big porch, garden, garage, all completely furnished including boat and outboard motor. Electricity, phone, cooking-gas and running water. Foodstuffs and ice delivered to door. Will lease to responsible party or sell on reasonable down payment with fair mortgage. Can be seen during weekends by appointment. Phone Mr. Sherover, Canal 3045, or Susquehanna 2959.

BOARD WANTED

BOARD for season — two adults and two children. On farm, or with private family. About 2 hours from city. Box 2419, % *The Nation.*

BUNGALOWS AND HOUSES FOR RENT

LINCOLN BUNGALOWS
For Families with Children

4 rooms and large inclosed porch. Also beautiful farmhouses with gardens, riding horses and chickens. *All modern facilities.* 64 miles from N. Y. C. One hour and a quarter by train. 1,000 ft. Berkshire Mt. elevation. 560 acres, with private lake. Absolute country quiet with most gorgeous views. Office, TRAfalgar 7740. Home, MONument 4639.

SUMMER RESTFULNESS, in unspoiled country, forty miles from New York. Furnished camps, some roomy old barns, rebuilt, some new bungalows, with screened sleeping porches. Swimming pool. Address C. C. Crawford, Amawalk, N. Y.

"THE QUAKER LADY," Remodeled Colonial farmhouse. Superb view Adirondacks. Beautifully furnished. Own spring. Barn. Orchard. 5 bedrooms and bath. Near Hurricane Lodge and Keens Valley. $500. Address: Mrs. John Martin, Grymes Hills, Staten Island, N. Y.

FOR RENT: In beautiful Delaware Valley, 2 hours from New York, wing of private house attractively furnished, living room, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, bath. Complete privacy. Rates reasonable by month or season. Boating, swimming available. Write E. J. Van Arsdale, Upper Black Eddy, Pa., or telephone Billings 8284 evenings.

MAY TO OCTOBER—Remodelled farmhouse, furnished; 5 chambers, bath, continuous hot water, electricity, gas, set tub, telephone, fireplace; garage; acreage; brook; 15 minutes to Harmon, 50 minutes express to Grand Central. Also 4-room modern bungalow; screened porch, fireplaces. Tel. Lack. 9420, or Yorktown 272 J.

STUDIO Cottage; all improvements; garage; quiet retreat; $600 for season or year; 50 miles north of city. Write owner, 918 Caldwell Ave., City.

3-ROOM bungalow; all improvements; $300 for the summer; 50 miles north of city. Write advertiser, 918 Caldwell Ave., City.

MT. KISCO—Nicely furnished 7-room house; modern improvements; Westchester hills; hour New York; perfect quiet. Appreciated by cultured people, writer, painter. Will give option for buying. Box 2412, % *The Nation.*

BUNGALOW—Cold Spring-on-Hudson, ¼ mile off Albany Post Road; easy commuting to Grand Central; modern improvements; tastefully furnished; swimming pool; private grounds. Car needed to go to station. Phone Navarre 9484.

FURNISHED bungalows. Four rooms and bath. All modern conveniences. Hills, woods, sea-bathing, fishing, boating. No mosquitoes. Easy commuting. May 1st—October 1st. $400 upward. Maxon, Sea Cliff, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMER SUMMER

TIMBERLAND

WHERE CONGENIAL FOLK GATHER

In the Heart of the Adirondacks

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END

By our Special through Express leaving Grand Central Thursday 6:25 P.M. Dinner on train
Arriving at camp for midnight party

ALL CAMP SPORTS EXCELLENT MEALS
MODERN COMFORTABLE ACCOMMODATIONS
Total charge of $29 includes round trip fare
Special Rates for June

N. Y. C. Address
33 West 42nd St.
Pennsylvania 7663

Directors
Esther R. Kessler
Morris Harkavy

(Booklet on Request)

GREEN MANSIONS

Warrensburg, N. Y.

decoration day week-end excursion in the green mansion manner

Won't You Join Us?

Reservations limited.
For particulars write or telephone

SPECIAL JUNE RATES

GREEN MANSIONS,
11 West 42nd Street
Longacre 2688

LENA BARISH
SAM GARLEN

TROUT LAKE CAMP

Decoration Day Week-end

3 GLORIOUS DAYS Thursday Evening to Sunday Evening, Including Fare and everything else **$30**

TROUT LAKE SPECIAL leaves Thursday, 6:25 P.M. Daylight Saving Time. Dinner will be served on board. All sports and social activities with the comfort of a hotel. Excellent food and service.

Please hurry your reservation

TROUT LAKE CAMP

229 West 98th Street, N. Y. C. **Tel. RIVerside 9499**

Camp Address, Lake George, N. Y.

See that your classified ads reach us by Friday, together with remittance, to insure their appearance the following week.

Minimum 30 words $3.08.

THE NATION
20 Vesey St., N. Y.

PEP!

Decoration Week-End Carnival Cruise!

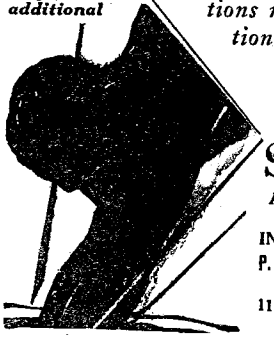
Leave New York Thursday, May 29, 6 P. M., by night boat—dinner and moonlight dancing on board—special non-stop train to Lake George through blooming Adirondack scenery—3 wonderful days at camp in Adirondacks—all sports, social events—return Monday, June 2, 7 A. M.—a glorious vacation!

Special all-inclusive rate,

$32.50

For best accommodations make reservations immediately!

Stay over Shevuoth, June 2, 3—only $8.00 additional



Special June Rates

SCOPUS

An Adult Camp of Distinction
IN THE ADIRONDACKS
P. O. LAKE GEORGE, N Y.
City Address
11 WEST 42nd STREET
Longacre 3411

Decoration Week End
at
UNCAS LODGE

A ne'er to be forgotten delight
The country in its sublime Glory
and
Tennis—Boating—Swimming—Dancing
Transportation to and from station

3 full days. Special rate $15.

Delicious meals—Leaving May 29, 6 P. M. on our "Special Train" to New London. Reservations limited to 50.

UNCAS LODGE, UNCASVILLE, CONN.
DIANA BERMAN, 227 Sullivan Pl., Bklyn, N. Y.
Decatur 0054-J Evenings.

Manhattan Beach Hotel

Manhattan Beach, N. Y. C.

LIVE in a modern fireproof hotel by the seashore for less than in the crowded city; $15 per week and up for two; every convenience; tennis and handball courts; 37 minutes from Times Square (B.M.T. Brighton Beach station). Phone SHEepshead 3000.

FOR YOUR SPRING VACATION

Complete rest and rebuilding, in delightful country. Invigorating outdoor life. Saddle horses. Also ideal for week-ends. Only 1½ hours from New York.

TOPSTONE FARM

IN THE CONNECTICUT HILLS
Write: R.F.D. 4, Ridgefield, Conn.
Telephone: Ridgefield 648

UNITY HOUSE

FOREST PARK, PA.

Open all year. Modern accommodations

Combining rare indoor comforts, with all the stimulating outdoor activities.

Make reservation—New York Office
CHElsea 2148 3 West 16th St.

Owned by International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Operated on non-profit basis.

THE LAKE VIEW

SILVER & CAMEN

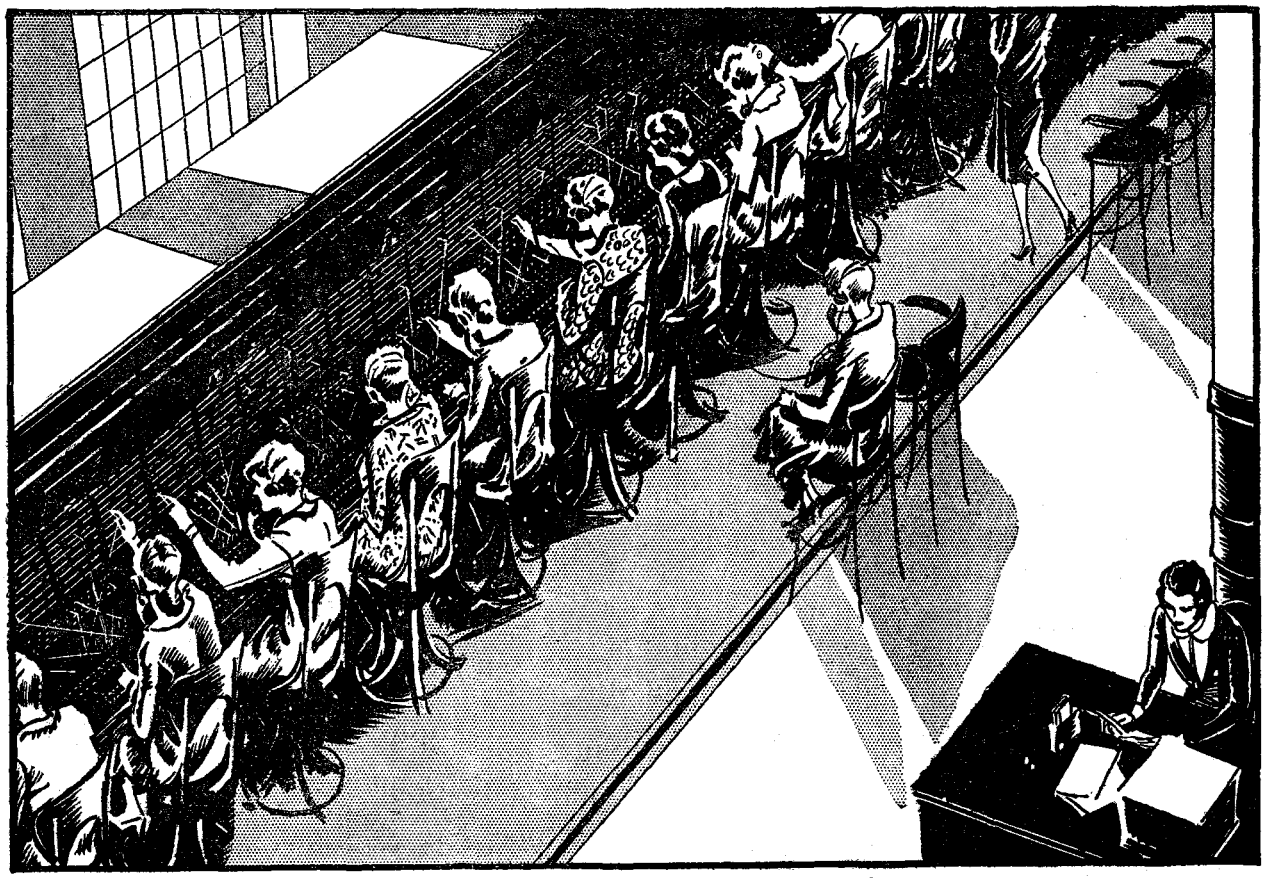
Surpassing Accommodations
Atmosphere of Refinement
Excellent Cuisine

Moderate Rates

59 Madison Ave. Phone Lakewood 287
Lakewood - New Jersey

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EACH CALL MUST BE HANDLED SEPARATELY, EACH FITTED TO THE NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL WHO MAKES IT

65 million calls a day . . . each one made to order

An Advertisement of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company

When you pick up your telephone, you may use $10,000 worth of equipment to talk to your neighbor three blocks away, or $10,000,000 worth of equipment to talk 3000 miles across the continent. Each call must be handled separately, each made to order.

To render this service in a way that fits the needs of the American people, the operation of the System is conducted by 24 different companies, each adapted to the area it serves.

These Associated Companies have the benefit of study and analysis by the staff of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, leading to progressive improvements in service. Each of the Bell Companies takes advantage of the research findings of the Bell Laboratories, commanding scientific talent unsurpassed in any industry.

The quality and precision manufacture of the telephone equipment and apparatus used by the entire System are assured by the specialized production methods of the Western Electric Company, which manufactures for the Bell System.

Today the Bell System is building ahead of the requirements of the public—to the end that the people of this nation may have the greater telephone facilities which they will need tomorrow.

BELL SYSTEM — AMERICAN TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH CO. AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

83

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED